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MEAT vs. RICE

American Manhood against Asiatic Coolieism

WHICH SHALL SURVIVE?

BY
SAMUEL GOMPERS AND HERMAN GUTSTADT

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AMERICAN MANHOOD AGAINST ASIATIC COOLIEISM. WHICH SHALL SURVIVE?

—By—

SAMUEL GOMPERS AND HERMAN GUTSTADT.

Introduction and Appendices by Asiatic Exclusion League.

INTRODUCTORY.

In the following pages we present the material collected and assembled by Mr. Samuel Gompers, and Mr. Herman Gutstadt of San Francisco, and published, first, by the American Federation of Labor and afterward by the Government Printing Office as Senate Document No. 137.

Those now living who were residents of San Francisco and other Pacific Coast cities (1870-1880-1890-1900) will cheerfully testify to the truthfulness of the statements submitted and the correctness of the inferences drawn from the same.

At the present writing (June, 1908) the conditions which prevailed in California during the decades 1880-1890-1900 are being paralleled throughout the Pacific Coast States, but with this difference: instead of a purely Chinese menace we have a combination of all the Asiatic races, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Hindoos, the most dangerous being the Japanese. When (in 1900) Professor Edward T. Ross, of Stanford, in a great speech at the Metropolitan Temple, called attention to the rapid increase of Japanese and their insidious encroachments upon the industries of California, he was looked upon as an alarmist and subsequently lost his position (professor of economics) at the behest of one who was an out-and-out admirer of the Mongolian; then, when Governor Gage, guided by the alarming reports emanating from the California Bureau of Labor Statistics, called the attention of the Legislature to the rapid increase of Japs, it seemed to the observant student' that the time was ripe for demanding a Japanese Exclusion law. However, the great Chinese Exclusion Convention (November 21-22, 1901) ignored the Japanese question. and concentrated its energies upon the re-enacting and extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law, in which (thank God) they were successful.

The immediate result of this neglect of the Japanese problem was to give that branch of the Mongolian race encouragement in the belief that they were a welcome addition to our population, and in consequence they

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began to come in swarms, like bees, until high water mark was reached in 1907, 30,226 being admitted that year, or about 9,000 less than the Chinese immigration of 1882 (39,579), which caused the great Kearney riots and almost led to the destruction of the Pacific Mail Docks.

The conditions among the Chinese during the decades depicted by Messrs. Gompers and Gutstadt find their counterpart among the Japanese to-day, and unless relief is obtained by legislative action, two or three decades hence will see California as much Japanized as is Hawaii to-day. If in the following pages the reader were to scratch out the word Chinese wherever it appears, and insert Japanese, the pamphlet would—with perhaps the exception of a few figures—be a fair portrayal of the conditions now existing not only in San Francisco but throughout the State of California, and in a lesser degree the States of Oregon and Washington, though it is safe to say that the cities of Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle have a larger Japanese population, in proportion to the whites, than has San Francisco.

No figures are submitted in support of the foregoing assertions, not for the lack of them, but because printed pamphlets containing complete tabulations may be obtained upon application, from the Asiatic Exclusion League, rooms 812-815, Metropolis Bank Building, San Francisco.

HISTORICAL.

It is now more than sixty years ago since the first Chinese laborers entered the United States by way of California. From a book entitled "Chinese in California" we obtain the following figures: On the first of January, 1850, having been attracted by the gold, there were in California, of Chinese, 789 men and 2 women. In January, 1851, there were 4,018 men and 7 women. In May, 1852, 11,780 men and 7 women. **At this time the State tried to stop the current of immigration by imposing a tax as a license to mine.** In 1868, when the Burlingame Treaty was ratified, there had arrived in California about 80,000 Chinese. How many have arrived since no person knows, for they come in so many and devious ways that a correct accounting is beyond human ken. (Appendix I.)

In the year preceding the enactment of the first restriction Act, the Chinese immigration at San Francisco (39,000) exceeded the entire increase of the white population of the State of California for the same year, from births, inter-state migration, and European immigration combined.

In the early settlement of that State, now unquestionably one of the grandest in the Union, when mining was the chief industry and labor by reason of its scarcity, well paid, the presence of a few thousands of Chinese, who were willing to work in occupations then seriously in want of labor and at wages lower than the standard, caused no serious alarm or discomfort. The State of California at that time presented more or less a great mining camp, industrial or agricultural development not then being thought of. But this admission by no means warrants the assumption of pro-Chinese sentimentalists that without Chinese labor the Pacific States would not have advanced as rapidly as they have done.

A well-known California physician replies to this assumption:

> "That an advancement with an incubus like the Chinese is like the growth of a child with a malignant tumor upon his back. At the time of manhood death comes of the malignity."

The tales of their prosperity soon reached China, and the Six Companies were formed for the purpose of providing means and transportation—but few having sufficient means to come on their own account—binding their victims in exchange therefor by contracts which virtually enslaved them for a term of years. They became the absolute chattels of the Tongs, or Companies, and were held, and to this day are held just as ever, into strict compliance with the terms entered into, not by any moral obligation, but by fear of death. Each Tong employs a number of men known as highbinders or hatchetmen, who are paid to enforce strict compliance, even if it must be by the death of the culprit. The police records of San Francisco will bear ample evidence to the truth of this, as also will the report of a legislative committee of 1876. This committee concluded its report as follows:

> "These tribunals are formed by the several Chinese companies or guilds, and are recognized as legitimate authorities by the Chinese population. They levy taxes, command masses of men, intimidate interpreters and witnesses, enforce perjury, regulate trade, punish the refractory, remove witnesses beyond the reach of our courts, control liberty of action, and prevent the return of Chinese to their homes without their consent. In short, they exercise a despotic sway over one-seventh of the population of the State of California. They invoke the processes of law only to punish the independent actions of their subjects, and it is claimed that they exercise the death penalty upon those who refuse obedience to their decrees.
>
> "We are disposed to acquit these companies and secret tribunals of the charge of deliberate intent to supersede the authority of the State. The system is inherent and part of the fiber of the Chinese mind and exists because the Chinese are thoroughly and permanently alien to us in language and interests. It is nevertheless a fact that these companies or tribunals do nullify and supersede the State and national authorities. And the fact remains that they constitute a foreign government within the boundaries of the Republic."

These conclusions were arrived at after a thorough and careful investigation, during which a large number of competent witnesses testified. Among the many there appeared D. J. Murphy, District Attorney of the City and County of San Francisco; Mr. H. H. Ellis, Chief of Police of the City of San Francisco; Charles T. Jones, District Attorney of Sacramento County; Mat Karcher, Chief of Police of Sacramento; Davis Louderback, Police Judge of San Francisco—all of whom testified that it was their belief that the Chinese had a tribunal of their own and that it was impossible to convict a Chinese criminal upon Chinese evidence, unless the secret tribunal had determined to have him convicted. In a great many cases it was believed that they had convicted innocent people upon perjured evidence. The court records of California fairly teem with the evidences of every crime imaginable, while the coroner's office and police headquarters can furnish data as to the perpetration of crimes yet unpunished. District Attorney Jones, of Sacramento, testified as to the murder of Ah Juong, the court interpreter, who was slain in broad daylight in the streets of Sacramento, because certain defendants were not convicted of an alleged abduction.

From Mr. T. T. Williams, of the San Francisco Examiner, we learn that within the ten days from the 4th to the 14th of November, 1901, four Chinese were killed in San Francisco by Chinese, and that further warning was posted on the walls in Chinatown, San Franci that unless heavy restitution was made by a certain Chinese family to another, five members of the former would be murdered within ten days.

These are hardly the little, mild, innocent and inoffensive strangers Eastern pro-Chinese were wont to consider them, and we presume there are still some who so believe.

We do not intend to enter into this question in detail, and we have called attention to it only because some of our sentimental friends have demonstrated a tendency to elevate the little brown man upon an unusually high moral and law-abiding pedestal. A more intimate knowledge of the Chinese in California—or the cities of New York or Boston—would disabuse their minds so quickly that we fancy many would be ashamed to own they ever harbored such convictions. (Appendix II.)

From the reports of the county assessors of the State of California, 1884, we learn that while the Chinese formed one-sixth of the population of the State, they paid less **than one four-hundredth** part of the taxes. During that year there were 198 Chinese prisoners in the State Prison, at an expense to the State of not less than $21,600 per year, or $12,000 in excess of the taxes collected from all the Chinese throughout the whole State.

But let us return to the historical part of the narrative. Beginning with the most menial avocations they gradually invaded one industry after another, until they not merely took the places of our girls as domestics and cooks, the laundry from our poorer women and subsequently from the white steam laundries, but the places also of the men and boys, as boot and shoemakers, cigarmakers, bagmakers, miners, farm laborers, brickmakers, tailors, slippermakers and numerous other occupations. In the ladies' furnishing line they gained absolute control, displacing hundreds of our girls who would otherwise have found profitable employment. Whatever business or trade they entered was, and is yet, absolutely doomed for the white laborer, as competition is simply impossible. Not that the Chinese would not rather work for high wages than low, but in order to gain control he will work so cheaply as to bar all efforts of his competitor. But not only has the workingman and workingwoman gained this bitter experience, but certain manufacturers and merchants have been equally the sufferers. The Chinese laborer will work cheaper for a Chinese employer than he will for a white man, as has been invariably proven, and, as a rule, he boards with his Chinese employer. The Chinese merchant or manufacturer will undersell his white competitor, and if uninterrupted will finally gain possession of the entire field. Such is the history of the race wherever they have come in contact with other peoples. None can withstand their silent and irresistible flow, and their millions already populate and command the labor and trade of the islands and nations of the Pacific. (Appendices III, IV.)

Baron Alexander Von Hubner, former Austrian Ambassador to France, upon returning from his travels around the world in 1885, delivered a discourse at the Oriental Museum, Vienna, the following extracts of which are hereby given:

> "The war of England and France against the Celestial Empire was an historical fact of worldwide importance, not because of the military successes achieved, but because the allies cast down the walls by which 400,000,000 of inhabitants were hermetically closed in from the outside world. With the intention of opening China to the Europeans, the globe has been thrown open to the Chinese. In consequence, the Chinese are streaming over the greater part of the globe, and are also forming colonies, albeit after their own fashion. Highly gifted, although inferior to the Caucasian in the highest spheres of mental activity; endowed with an untiring industry; temperate to the utmost abstemiousness; frugal; a born merchant; a first-class cultivator, especially in gardening; distinguished in every handicraft, the son of the Middle Kingdom slowly, surely and unremarked, is supplanting the Europeans wherever they are brought together. . . . On my first visit to Singapore in 1871 the population consisted of 100 white families, of 20,000 Malays, and a few thousand Chinese. On my return there in 1884 the population was divided, according to the official census, into 100 white families, 20,000 Malays, and 86,000 Chinese. A new Chinese town had sprung up, with magnificent stores, beautiful residences and pagodas. The country lying to the south of Indo-China—a few years ago almost uninhabited—is now filling up with Chinese. The number of the sons of the Flowery Kingdom who emigrated to that point and to Singapore amounted to 100,000 in 1882, to 150,000 in 1883, and last year (1884) an important increase in these numbers was expected.
>
> "I never met more Chinese in San Francisco than I did last summer (1884), and in Australia the Chinese element is ever increasing in importance. **To a man who will do the work for half price all doors are open.** Even in the South Sea Islands the influence of Chinese labor is felt. The important trade of the Gilbert Islands is in the hands of a great Chinese firm. On the Sandwich Islands (Territory of Hawaii) the sons of the Middle Kingdom are spreading everywhere. **The North Americans, until now the rulers of those islands under their native kings, are already feeling the earth shake under their feet as in vain they resist these inroads.** All these things have I seen with my own eyes, excepting in Chile and Peru—countries that I did not visit. From official documents, however, I extract the fact that since 1860 (to 1884) 200,000 Chinese have landed there—an enormous number, considering the small European population in those countries."

How does that statement—with the figures in the appendix (Appendix IV)—compare with an assertion of Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese Minister, and Consul-General Ho Yow that the Chinese do not emigrate to any large extent? The Baron said further:

> "Europe with her 300,000,000, China with her 400,000,000, represent, with the exception of India, the two most over-populated parts of the world. Both send their sons to foreign climes. They consist of two mighty streams, of which one is white and the other yellow. In the annals of history there is no mention of the migration of such immense masses of people. A series of questions arise. How will the status of the old continent be affected by the emigration of so many of its sons? Now suffering from a plethora, after a severe bleeding will Europe remain in a full healthy condition, or, similar to Spain, will she lapse into a state of anemia? What fate is in store for the young rising powers that are neither kingdoms nor republics? What will be the reactionary effect upon the mother countries of Europe? **What will be the result of the meeting of these white and yellow streams? Will they flow peacefully on parallel lines in their respective channels, or will their commingling lead to chaotic events? WE DO NOT KNOW. WE CANNOT TELL.** Will Christian society and Christian civilization in their present form disappear, or will they emerge victorious from the conflict, carrying their living, fruitful, everlasting principles to all the corners of the earth? WE CANNOT KNOW. **These are the unsolved problems; the secrets of the future; hidden within the tomb of time. What we now distinguish is only the first clangor of the overture of the drama of the coming years.** THE CURTAIN IS NOT RUNG UP AS THE PLOT IS ONLY TO BE WORKED OUT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

In the light of events in China in 1900-1901 and the aggressive influx of Japanese into Hawaii and the Pacific Coast States, Mexico and British Columbia since 1900, how prophetic are the words of this statesman and philosopher; **would it not be well to take heed?**

Many years ago Rudyard Kipling, while travelling through China, was so profoundly impressed with the character of the people that he said:

> "There are three races who can work, but there is only one that can swarm. These people work and spread. They pack close and eat everything and can live on nothing. They will overwhelm the world."

Kipling saw Canton and says of it:

> "A big blue sink of a city, full of tunnels, all dark, and inhabited by yellow devils; a city that Dore ought to have seen. I am devotedly thankful that I am never going back there. The Mongol will begin to march in his own good time. I intend to wait till he marches up to me."

He has marched up to us and already has part possession of one of the fairest of our States. The check given to his advance by the exclusion law has saved us temporarily, and by reason of their gradual decrease * (?) somewhat modified the economic condition, which for more than a generation made the State of California an outcast among its sister States.

To those of our citizens still in middle age the struggle of the Pacific Coast must yet be fresh in mind. A growing young giant, kept to the earth by a weight he found himself unable to rise with. His appeals, piteous, and prayers for succor from those able to help availed him naught. In spite of his herculean efforts he was not even able to shift this burden, and when his final collapse became merely a question of time help came sparingly—not the help he had a right to expect, but some of the weight was taken off. The beginning being made, by persistent effort greater help was extended until, the burden being considerable lighter, the giant was able to rise. **Is the burden to be again increased? Is the young giant of the West to be again crushed to the earth by an avalanche against which other and older nations have found all resistance futile?** Our recently acquired possessions may furnish us a finger mark it might be well to consider.

A LITTLE PHILIPPINE HISTORY.

A century and a half ago the Chinese began to emigrate to Manila in the same quiet, docile, "childlike" and bland manner that they first came to California. They were quiet, humble, submissive and industrious, accepting at first menial positions and light jobs. After some years they had greatly increased in numbers, and usurped, as they have done here, many of the lighter lines of industries and had in several of them gained a monopoly and crowded out the Spanish operatives. As they increased in numerical force they became defiant of the laws, and when still more numerous they became aggressive and committed deeds of violence and felonies of all kinds.

The Spanish citizens sent a petition to the home government in Spain to have a law enacted to prevent them coming to the island. No notice was taken of it. After waiting a year they sent a committee of leading citizens with a renewal of the petition to Spain. They were put off with fair promises as to what would be done, and returned home satisfied that they had accomplished the intent of their mission. But two years passed by and no relief came to them. A second commission was then sent with a strong appeal to the King to grant the relief asked for. He said it should be granted. They, too, went home, but when between three and four years had gone with no performance of the King's promise, and the Chinese in the meantime becoming more aggressive and insolent, an outbreak occurred, upon their killing a leading citizen, when the Spaniards arose in their full strength and slew every Chinaman on the island—between 20,000 and 25,000—with the exception of five or six, whom they sent back to China to tell what had been done to the others. (Appendix V.)

Some thirty-five or forty years subsequent to this massacre of the Chinese, when most of the participants in it had died off and the event was only a matter of tradition—much the same as the events of our exclusion fight now are with the present generation—the Chinese again began to venture to the island, and, after a series of years, the same scenes of appealing to the home government in Spain, and the same absence of attention, the same subterfuges as to affording relief to the prayer of the petitioners resulted. **Then another massacre took place in which a large number of the celestials were slaughtered, and the race was annihilated on the island of Luzon.**

About forty years after this last onslaught, they again began to immigrate to the island, but having learned caution from the experience of their predecessors, they avoided all irritating actions and quietly absorbed the coffee and spice plantations, and then gradually engrossed the various lines of business. Now the Spanish residents who were in business there have all been crowded out, and the shipping, banking, insurance and mercantile business, and all the leading industries, have fallen into the hands of the Chinese.

It may not be out of place here to quote some of the official opinions of men in whom the American people should have implicit confidence, most especially since, by reason of their position, they may be considered as properly qualified and thoroughly reliable.

General MacArthur, formerly military governor of the Philippines, in a report to the War Department made the following statements in regard to the difficulties of enforcing the Chinese immigration laws in the Philippines:

> "The system is unsatisfactory, and an immigration station is needed where immigrants can be landed and a systematic examination had of them and their belongings."

General MacArthur was, like General Otis, vigorously opposed to unrestricted Chinese immigration into the Philippines. In the report above quoted he says:

> "Such a people endowed as they are with inexhaustible fortitude and determination, if admitted to the Archipelago in any considerable numbers during the formative period which is now in process of evolution would soon have direct or indirect control of pretty nearly every productive interest, to the absolute exclusion of Filipinos and Americans.
>
> "Individually the Chinaman represents a unit of excellence that must always command respect and win admiration, but in their organized capacity in the Philippines the Chinese represent an economical army without allegiance or attachment to the country, and which to a great extent is beyond the reach of insular authority. They are bent upon commercial conquest, and as those in the islands already represent an innumerable host at home, even restricted immigration would be a serious menace."

If a further indorsement of these facts be necessary, we find it in the expressions of General James F. Smith, who after an experience of two years and a half in the archipelago, was interviewed in San Francisco by Lilian Ferguson of the San Francisco Examiner. Upon being asked if Oriental labor should be imported into the Orient the General said:

> **"A Filipino can't live like a Chinaman. For this reason, if I had no other, I am opposed to the importation to the Philippines of Chinese or Japanese laborers. We have seen how disastrously immigration from the Orient resulted right here in California. Surely if the American laborers, with their superior intelligence and industry, have been unable to compete with the Asiatic, what can be expected of the poor Filipinos?"**

PART II.

DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

The people of the Pacific Coast, who by reason of their long enforced contact and bitter experience ought to be credited with some knowledge on the subject almost unanimously declare that it does. It is a most serious mistake for the citizens of the Eastern States to believe that the anti-Asiatic sentiment is limited to any particular class or faction, creed or nationality.

The sentiment is general and there is practically no division of opinion on the subject. At an election held in 1879 the question of Chinese immigration was submitted to the votes of the State of California as a test of sentiment, and resulted in 154,638 votes being cast against that immigration and only 883 votes in favor. In other words the people of California in proportion of 175 to 1 voted for protection against Chinese immigration. Surely it cannot be held that this almost unanimous vote of the electors of an entire State was cast without good and sufficient cause, and not as a result of demagogic or irresponsible agitation.

There is no good reason to believe that this sentiment has undergone the slightest change. On the contrary, there is greater cause for stricter exclusion. Our recently acquired possessions of the Hawaiian and Philippine islands have added hundreds of thousands of Asiatic coolies to our population, the correct disposal of which already causes serious apprehension to our American statesmen. (Appendix VI.)

But since it is always considered good policy to speak of people as we find them, it may be well to give the result of several official investigations carried on by the State and Municipal authorities of California and San Francisco respectively.

CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA.

John S. Enos, commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of California from 1883 to 1886, inclusive, made a number of investigations both of a general and individual character. The boot and shoe and the cigar industry being the most seriously affected, were made subjects of special investigation, the cigar industry in particular revealing a condition of affairs almost too horrible for publication. The general investigation was completed with the assistance of the various county assessors of the State of California, from the result of which the following tables were compiled. There is, however, some reason to believe that the returns did not furnish the actual rate paid, as it is an established fact that Chinese [and Japanese also] laborers work at much lower wages for Chinese [and Japanese] employers than they do for white:

Class of labor.	Average wages.	With or without board.
Domestic servants	$21.50 per month	with
Cooks	20.00 per month	with
Laundrymen	10.00 per month	with
Farmers	22.50 per month	with
Brickmakers	30.00 per month	without
Slipper makers	4.50 per week	without
Bag makers	5.25 per week	without
Miners	1.75 per week	without
Canneries	1.00 per week	without
Boot and shoe workers	1.25 per week	without
Cigar, doing piece work	4.00 to $7 per week	without

Cost of Living.

Rent per month		$2 to $4
Food per month		$5
Clothing per year		$10 to $12
Food use, home product	Per cent:	.25
Food imported from China	Per cent:	.75
Clothing, American manufacture	Per cent:	.20
Clothing, imported from China	Per cent:	.80
Yearly earnings sent to China	Per cent:	.75

Thus it will be observed that counting ten months in the year and twenty-six working days a month, wages averaging $1 per day, the wages would be $260 per head per year, or a total of $27,040,000 paid the Chinese in California in the year 1884. The cost of living per head did not exceed $100 per head including rent. Seventy-five per cent of his food and clothing came from China, so that out of the $260 per year earned by the Chinaman less than $20, exclusive of rent, goes to increase the wealth of this nation. His mode of living will be referred to later. (Appendix VII.)

Since the investigation by Mr. Enos the Chinese have successfully invaded other fields of industry. The ladies' furnishing and undergarment trade is almost entirely under the control of the Chinese. Their stores are scattered everywhere throughout San Francisco, and the American manufacturers have been driven out and every effort to regain the trade has been unsuccessful. In the manufacture of male garments and furnishings conditions are almost as bad, fully one-half and possibly two-thirds being in the hands of Asiatics. Several of the largest manufacturers of clothing in San Francisco have everything made by Chinese.

The cigar, boot and shoe, broom making, and pork industries were for many years entirely in the hands of the Chinese, depriving many thousands of Americans of their means of livelihood. As their power grew they became more independent, and in the pork industry they secured so strong a hold that no white butcher dared kill a hog for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Chinese. This state of affairs became so obnoxious and unbearable that the retail butchers could no longer submit, and with the assistance of the wholesale butchers and the citizens generally finally succeeded in wresting the monopoly from the hands of their Chinese competitors.

In factories owned by white employers the Chinese employes refused to work with white men, and upon one occasion positively struck against them, refusing to work unless the white help were discharged. This occurrence so aroused the State of California that an anti-Chinese convention was called and held at Sacramento March 10, 1886, in which the most distinguished representative citizens of California took part. The convention appointed a committee of five to address a suitable memorial to Congress applying for relief. The committee consisted of Hon. John F. Swift, ex-Minister to Japan; United States Senator A. A. Sargent; Hon. H. V. Morehouse, Hon. E. A. Davis, and Hon. Elihu Anthony.

There certainly can be no question as to the conservatism of those gentlemen, all of whom had been prominently identified with the growth and development of the State of California. The following extracts from the memorial are as applicable to all Asiatics as they are to the Chinese in particular:

> "That there is more mere money profit, in dollars, in a homogeneous population than in one of mixed races, while the moral and political objections are unanswerable.
>
> "That while the Chinaman works industriously enough, he consumes very little, either of his own production or of ours.
>
> "That he underbids all white labor and ruthlessly takes its place and will go on doing so until the white laborers come down to the scanty food and half civilized habits of the Chinaman, while the net results of his earnings are sent regularly out of the country and lost to the community where it was created.
>
> "And while this depleting process is going on the white laboring man, to whom the nation must, in the long run, look for the reproduction of the race and the bringing up and educating of citizens to take the place of the present generation as it passes away, and, above all, to defend the country in time of war, is injured in his comfort, reduced in his scale of life and standard of living, necessarily carrying down with it his moral and physical stamina.
>
> "But what is even more immediately damaging to the State is the fact that he is kept in a perpetual state of anger, exasperation and discontent, always bordering on sedition, thus jeopardizing the general peace and creating a state of chronic uneasiness, distrust and apprehension throughout the entire community.
>
> "If there were no higher reasons in getting rid of the Chinese, [Asiatics], these facts alone would be sufficient to convince the practical statesman of the necessity of doing so as speedily as possible—to do it lawfully. But there are other and higher considerations involved in the Chinese [Asiatic] question than that of mere industrial progress or material development, and to these we invite the attention of the American citizen who places his country and its permanent good above immediate money profit. We assure our fellow-countrymen in the East and South that the dominance, if not the actual existence, of the European race in this part of the world is in jeopardy.
>
> "Now, and while this territory is still practically unoccupied, and **within the lifetime of the present generation, the type of human species that is**

to occupy this side of the American continent is to be determined for all time.

"That in the life and death struggle now going on for the possession of the western shores of the American continent the Chinese [Asiatics] have advantages that must secure to them, if not a complete victory, at least a drawn battle in a division of occupancy with us.

"To begin with, they have a hive of 450,000,000 Chinese [850,000,000 Asiatics] to draw from, with only one ocean to cross, and behind them an impulsive force of hunger unknown to any European people.

"Our common ancestors came to the American continent to found a State. The greatness of a nation does not lie in its money, but in its men and women; and not in their number, but in their quality, in their virtue, honor, integrity, truth, and, above all things, in their courage and manhood."

What need of more figures? The reports of the Bureau of Labor statistics for the years 1883-84, 1886, 1890, 1900, 1902, 1904 and 1906 furnish ample proof of the utter impossibility for our race to compete with the Mongolian. Their ability to subsist and thrive under conditions which would mean starvation and suicide to the cheapest laborer of Europe secures to them an advantage which baffles the statesman and economist to overcome, how much less the chances of the laborers pitted in competition against them.

Asiatic Labor Degrades as Slave Labor Did.

For many years it has been impossible to get white persons to do the menial labor performed by Chinese and Japanese—**"It is Mongolian's labor and not fit for whites."** In the agricultural districts a species of help has been created, known as the blanket man. White laborers seldom find permanent employment; the Mongolian is preferred. During harvest time the white man is forced to wander from ranch to ranch and find employment here and there for short periods of time, with the privilege of sleeping in the barns or haystacks. He is looked upon as a vagabond, unfit to associate with his employer or to eat from the same table with him. **The negro slave of the South was housed and fed, but the white trash of California is placed beneath the Mongolian.** The white domestic servant of today is expected to live in the room originally built for John, generally situated in the cellar, or attic, and void of all comforts, frequently unpainted or unpapered, containing only a bedstead and a chair. Anything was good enough for "John" and the white girl must be satisfied as well. Is it any wonder that self respecting young women refuse to take service under such conditions? And what is true of agricultural laborers and domestics applies, equally, to all trades in which Mongolians are largely employed. Absolute servility (civility is not enough) is expected from those who take the place of "John" or "Togo" and it will take many years to obliterate these traces of inferiority and re-establish the proper relations of the employer and the employed.

From the report of the special committee on Chinese immigration to the California State Senate, 1878, we quote the following, while in the Appendix (VIII) we submit a letter from John P. Irish upon the conditions existing in San Francisco at the time of his arrival in that city—1882:

"A serious objection to slavery, as it existed in the Southern States, was that it degraded white labor. The very same objection exists against Chinese labor [Asiatic].

"The recent troubles in San Francisco are attributable to a class commonly known as 'hoodlums,' young men who have grown up in idleness, without occupation of any kind and who in various ways prey upon society. This class is peculiar to San Francisco. Many of our thinkers argue that it owes its existence to the presence of a large Chinese [Asiatic] population. (viii.) For several years after the settlement of this State by Americans the population was an adult population. There were no boys. As boys grew up they found the places filled by Chinese, and very naturally looked upon any labor they performed as servile and degrading. Their pride—whether true or false is immaterial,—kept them from entering the lists by the side of an abhorred race. If this view of the subject is correct a fearful responsibility rests at the door of the advocates of Asiatic labor.

"The employment of Asiatics as agricultural laborers is most generally in droves, held in some sort of dependence by a head man or agent of the Chinese or Japanese companies. The workmen live in sheds or in straw-stacks, do their own cooking, have no homes, and are without interest in their work or the country. The white laborer who would compete with them must not only pursue the same kind of life, but must, like them, abdicate his individuality. The consequences would be lamentable, even if the white laborer should succeed by such means in driving the Asiatic from the field. We would in that event have a laboring class without homes, without families, and without any of the restraining influences of society.

"The slave owner at the South had an interest in his laborers, and even if the voice of humanity was silenced, yet that interest [money values] made him care for them. He gave them houses to live in, took care of them in sickness, and supported them when old age rendered them incapable. The owner of Asiatic laborers in this State has no such interest. His interest is co-extensive with, and limited by, the ability of his slave to earn money. In sickness he turns him over to the charity of the public. When disabled by age he leaves him to his fate. It takes no prophet to foretell that if white labor is brought down to the level of Asiatic labor the white laborer will meet like treatment.

"The slaves of the South were, as a race, kind and faithful. The Asiatics are cruel and treacherous. In this, by contrast all the advantages were with Southern slavery. (Appendix X.)

"On the whole, Asiatic immigration tends more strongly to the degradation of labor and to the subversion of our institutions than did slavery at the South. It has all the disadvantages of African slavery and none of its compensations."

Social Habits.

Of the social habits of Asiatics none can form a proper conception unless personally familiar therewith. The following excerpts from the report of a special committee of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, appointed to investigate and report upon Chinatown, July, 1885, illustrates in a most forcible manner the evils of Asiatic immigration and the menace attending their domicilation among us. See Appendix Municipal Reports, 1884-85.

> "In a sanitary point of view Chinatown presents a singular anomaly. With the habits, manners, customs and whole economy of life violating every accepted rule of hygiene; with open cesspools, exhalations from water-closets, sinks, urinals and sewers tainting the atmosphere with noxious vapors and stifling odors; with people herded and packed in damp cellars, living literally the life of vermin, badly fed and clothed, addicted to the daily use of opium to the extent that many hours each day or night are passed in the delirious stupefaction of its influence, it is not to be denied that, as a whole, the general health of this locality compares more than favorably with other sections of the city which are surrounded by more favorable conditions. [p. 174.]
>
> "It is not too sweeping a declaration to make to say that there is scarcely a habitation occupied by Asiatics in which the so-called 'Cubic-air ordinance' is not constantly violated. This constant and habitual violation of this municipal regulation illustrates most forcibly the truth of an assertion, often made, that the habits and mode of life among Asiatics here are not much above 'those of the rats of the waterfront.'" [p. 178.]

The committee submitted a tabulation, compiled from figures obtained during the investigation, showing the overcrowding in Chinatown residences, especially in the sleeping and living accommodations of the laboring classes. In a visit to 30 apartments in which the number of occupants allowed under the cubic-air law would have been 224 there were found to be in actual possession no less than 799, and this may be taken as a fair type of the common manner of life among Asiatics of the ordinary classes. There are places to be found more densely crowded and some not so densely. But the figures given represent the prevailing rule, and the other extreme [about equally divided] the exception. The report goes on to say:

> "Descend into the basement of almost any building in Chinatown at night: pick your way by the aid of the policeman's candle along the dark and narrow passageway black and grimy with a quarter of a century's accumulation of filth; step with care lest you fall into a cesspool of sewage abominations with which these subterranean depths abound. Now, follow your guide through a door, which he forces, into a sleeping room. The air is thick with smoke and fetid with an indescribable odor of reeking vapors. The atmosphere is tangible. Tangible—if we may be allowed to use the word in this instance—to four out of five of the human senses. Tangible to the sight, tangible to the touch, tangible to the taste, and, oh, how tangible to the smell! You may even hear it as the opium smoker sucks it through his pipe bowl into his trained lungs, and you breathe it yourself as if it were of the substance and tenacity of tar. It is a sense of horror you have never before experienced, revolting, and to the last degree, sickening and stupefying. Through this semi-opaque atmosphere you discover perhaps eight or ten—never less than two or three—bunks, the greater part, or all, of which are occupied by two persons, some in a state of stupefaction from opium, some rapidly smoking themselves into that condition, and all in dirt and filth. Before the door was opened for your entrance every aperture was closed, and here, had they not been thus rudely disturbed, they would have slept in the dense and poisonous atmosphere until morning; proof against the baneful effects of the carbonic acid gas generated by this human defiance of chemical laws, and proof against all the zymotic poisons that would be fatal to a people of any other race in an hour of such surroundings and such conditions.

> "It is from such pest holes that the Asiatic cooks and servants who are employed in our homes come. Cleanly though they may be in appearance while acting in the capacity of domestic servants, they are nevertheless born and reared in these habits of life. The facility with which they put on the habits of decency when they become cooks and servants simply adds to the testimony to their ability to adapt themselves to circumstances when it is to their interest to do so. But the instinct of the race remains unchanged, and when the Chinese servant leaves employment in an American household he joyfully hastens back to his slum and his burrow, to the grateful luxury of his normal surroundings—vice, filth and an atmosphere of horror." [p. 180.]

The conditions depicted in the foregoing excerpts have been obliterated in the Chinatown of San Francisco owing to the great fire, while Dr. Blue and his corps of sanitary inspectors have given the Chinese and Japanese houses, that are scattered throughout the city of San Francisco, a thorough cleansing. But a visit to the Oriental quarter in other cities of California, Oregon, Washington and the cities of New York, Boston and Washington, D. C., will discover conditions as odious and alarming as those formerly found by the Supervisors of San Francisco. Immediately preceding the "great fire" certain Japanese lodging houses were brought to the notice of the police and health authorities by the State Labor Commissioner and the conditions prevailing in them were similar to those existing in the Chinese quarter.

Detailed accounts of places visited cannot be given because of the unspeakable sights witnessed and conditions discovered. They may, however, be found in the report quoted. That these statements are correct can be proven by anyone who has gone through Chinatown or visited the quarters of Orientals in the outlying districts. If, then, Asiatics are satisfied to live such a life and practice such habits—in a country where they are so favored financially—what must be their actual condition where they are less favored?

PART III.

HAVE ASIATICS ANY MORALS?

Sixty years' contact with the Chinese, twenty-five years' experience with the Japanese and two or three years' acquaintance with Hindus should be sufficient to convince any ordinarily intelligent person that they have no standard of morals by which a Caucasian may judge them. A reference to the report previously quoted sheds considerable light upon the subject:

> "It is a less difficult problem to ascertain the number of Chinese women and children in Chinatown than it is to give with accuracy the male population. First, because they are at present comparatively few in numbers; and second, because they can nearly always be found in the localities which they inhabit. This investigation has shown, however, that whatever may be the domestic family relations of the Chinese empire, here the relations of the sexes are chiefly so ordered as to provide for the gratification of the animal proclivities alone, with whatever result may chance to follow in

the outcome of procreation. There are apparently few families living as such, with legitimate children. In most instances the wives are kept in a state of seclusion, carefully guarded and watched, as though 'eternal vigilance' on the part of their husbands 'is the price of their virtue.' Wherever there are families belonging to the better class of Chinese, the women are guarded and secluded in the most careful manner. Wherever the sex has been found in the pursuance of this investigation under other conditions, with some few exceptions, the rule seems to be that they are here in a state of concubinage merely to administer to the animal passions of the other sex, with such perpetuation of the race as may be a resultant consequence, or else to follow the admitted calling of the prostitute, generally of the lowest possible grade, with all the wretchedness of life and consequence which the name implies. That this is not mere idle assertion, the following statement of the number of women and children found in Chinatown in the course of this investigation, and which includes probably nearlv every one living in that locality will, we trust, sufficiently demonstrate:

" 'Living as families—women 57, children 59. Herded together with apparent indiscriminate parental relations and no family classification—women 761, children 576. Professional women and children living together—women 567, children 87.'

"Such were the relations of the sexes as discovered by the investigators. No well-defined family relations were discovered other than as shown, while the next classification seemed to be a middle stratum between family life and prostitution, partaking in some measure of each, if such a condition of things can be possible.

"The most revolting feature of all, however, is found in the fact that there are so large a number of children growing up as the associates, and perhaps proteges, of the professional prostitutes. In one house alone, in Sullivan's alley, your committee found the inmates to be 19 professional women and 16 children. In the localities inhabited largely by professionals, women and children who apparently occupy this intermediate family relationship already alluded to, live in adjoining apartments and intermingle freely, leading to the conclusion that prostitution is a recognized and not immoral calling with the race, and that it is impossible to tell by a survey of their domestic customs where the family relationship leaves off and prostitution begins." (Appendix Municipal Report, 1885; page 168.)

The committee then submitted a report of the effects of this disgusting life upon the boys growing up in the community (Appendix IX). Attention was then called to evidence elicited by the Legislative Committee appointed to investigate the Chinese question in 1877 and the testimony of the Rev. Otis Gibson, who had lived in China, was given at length, which treated in general upon the slavery of the women. Alfred Clarke, clerk of the Police Department, confirmed the testimony of Mr. Gibson. Mr. Clarke submitted originals and translations of contracts with women for the sale of their bodies; one case naming four years for $630; another, four and a half years, $530.

For further details of this heinous traffic we refer to the report of the special committee of the Supervisors, p. 162, appendix of the Municipal Report of San Francisco, 1884-85. In corroboration of the statements submitted from said report we annex the headings of some of the testimony to be found in a report of the grand jury of the City of San Francisco during the first three months of 1901. Miss Margaret Lake of the Chinese mission testified to conditions as depicted in the Municipal Report. A slave girl testified as to the manner in which she was sold [$2,750 was paid for her]. She had married since her rescue by Miss Lake and her husband had been shot by highbinders.

Another girl testified that her mother had sold her for about $400. She saw the money paid and the bill receipted. Miss Donaldine Cameron testified to the conditions of this slavery coming under her personal observation and spoke of the difficulties encountered by the mission in rescuing these poor creatures.

The foregoing represents but a minor and by far the most innocent part of the testimony taken by legislators, supervisors and grand juries, but it proves beyond controversion that in spite of their (Chinese) residence in the United States for half a century there has been no improvement in their social or moral conduct. As for the testimony of several physicians of high standing presented before the special committee of the Board of Supervisors, 1885, as to the gruesome results to thousands of boys, ranging from 8 to 15 years of age, from their intercourse with Chinese females, is so unspeakably vile, so horribly disgusting in its details, and so utterly degrading that its publication can only be excused in official reports and then only for the purpose of educating the public as to the evils of Asiatic immigration. (Appendix IX.)

The Opium Habit.

There are so many phases of the Asiatic question that it is almost impossible to treat of them fully within the limits of an ordinary report. One of the most far-reaching and destructive of the vices transplanted by the Chinese to American soil is that of the use of opium.

The stranger in San Francisco is often struck with a type of humanity seldom seen elsewhere unless in the vicinity of the Chinese quarters in Boston and New York or other large Chinese centers. Passing through the upper end of Kearny street, in the vicinity of San Francisco's Chinatown, after nightfall one may see a number of what were once men and women, but are now but mental and physical wrecks of humanity. Gaunt and emaciated, with a death-like skin hanging loosely over their frames, eyes deep sunk in their cavities furtively glancing from side to side as if constantly in dread of apprehension, their features distorted, in shabby, scant and disordered attire, they slink along the street like hunted animals. They are seldom seen in open day but are always waiting for the protection of the darkness of night. Who and what are these beings, and why are they seen so frequently in San Francisco, one of nature's most favored cities? To the street gamin they are objects of derision and ridicule, to those who are parents of children they are objects of dread and pity. Some time in the past these poor, miserable and degraded wrecks were the beloved children of fond parents, who perhaps builded upon their bright prospects, but are now hopelessly lost forever. They have become what is known in the parlance of the street as "dope heads"—opium fiends in the ordinary language. In some manner, by some wily method they were induced by Chinese to use the drug. Time was when little girls no older than 12 years were found in Chinese laundries under the influence of opium. What other crimes were committed in those dark and fetid places when these little innocent victims of the Chinaman's wiles were under the influence of the drug are almost too horrid to imagine. The police have, in the past years, largely broken up these laundry opium joints, but there are hundreds, aye thousands, of our American boys and girls who have acquired this deadly habit and are doomed, hopelessly doomed, beyond a shadow of redemption.

It was fervently hoped, but alas, how futilely that the "great fire" having destroyed these joints, formerly existing in Chinatown, that it would be easy to prevent their revival. At this time—June 1, 1908—San Francisco stands horrified at the disclosures made by the State Board of Pharmacy in its effort to prevent the illicit and illegal sale of opium. Young girls of good family have been found smoking opium, and it is stated upon the best of authority that ladies, who can ride in their own automobiles, are the best customers of those engaged in the unholy traffic. **And this soul-destroying vice may be traced directly to the presence of Asiatics among us.**

It may be argued that this is more or less a matter of police regulation and that the vice can be extirpated if so the people choose, but is it right or just to knowingly expose our children or the children of our neighbors to such dangerous contamination, even though it be but indirectly? Knowing these conditions, it seems beyond reason to remain indifferent to an evil so entirely destructive to our domestic ideals. **Let us remove the cause and the disease may heal itself.**

Are the Asiatic coolies so absolutely sacred to us that we should willingly sacrifice everything near and dear to us to retain their good-will and favor?

Oriental Trade.

Considering that the main objection against Asiatic Exclusion emanates from the commercial interests of the United States it may be well to remember that the balance of trade has thus far been in favor of the Orient—only for a year, or two, during the Russo-Japanese war did our exports to Japan exceed the imports from that country. We may dismiss that bugaboo which has only been invoked to scare the worshipers of the "full dinner pail."

There is not the slightest danger of any trade interruption. Our trade with China has constantly increased, in spite of our restriction policy and in spite of the so-called boycott engineered and fostered by the Japanese assisted by Asiatic-loving Americans. A decrease in our Asiatic population will reduce the imports of foodstuff and clothing used by them [which would be a benefit], but will have no effect whatever upon the importation of teas and silks [which is not an unmixed blessing]. The Chinese and Japanese are acute merchants [especially the Chinese], and will certainly buy wherever they can buy cheapest, and if they find trading with us a source of profit to them they will continue to do so, irrespective of restriction or exclusion.

But assuming that the Orientals, in resentment, should refuse to trade with us, is the retention of trade relations—the interest of the few—so important that we can afford to sacrifice the many—our own flesh and blood—upon its altar? Are the hundreds of thousands of our citizens to be deprived of employment to make room for Asiatic coolies and the standard of living of our entire laboring class to be reduced to meet their murderous competition? Is our civilization, our code of morals and social status to be exposed to the contaminating influence herebefore mentioned, in order to sell a few more barrels of flour or other cereals? Asia will never be a large consumer of our manufactures, for just so soon as a sufficient demand for them is manifested they will be manufactured in Japan at a less cost than they can be manufactured elsewhere. Not only will the Orientals manufacture articles for home consumption but they will flood the American market with their surplus products, in fact a visit to the appraisers' building in San Francisco will show the honest enquirer that the flood has already set in.

It is hardly to be credited that any American statesman will be found, who, in face of the indisputable facts before him, will be willing to jeopardize the welfare, not merely of our citizens, but of our very institutions for a mess of rank and bitter pottage.

Our Fields and Orchards.

Much has been said recently, as in the past, of the necessity of having more Asiatics for the purpose of tilling the lands and harvesting the crops of California and at the last convention of the fruitgrowers that great champion of Asiatic immigration, Mr. John P. Irish, railroaded a memorial calling for a letting down of the exclusion bars. The earlier declarations of Mr. Irish upon this important question (Appendix VIII) has estopped him from being a competent witness on behalf of his clients and his utterances, at this late day when placed in comparison with those of gentlemen who were already eminent in California public life when Mr. Irish was a country editor in Iowa, exposes the fact that his conscience has been quieted by his interests.

The late Morris M. Estee* in an address before the State Agricultural Society at Sacramento said:

> "I am satisfied that if in our orchards, vineyards, hopfields and grainfields our farmers, instead of hiring the thieving, irresponsible Chinaman, [what would he say of the Japanese?] who like the locusts of Egypt, are eating out our substance, would give some encouragement to our boys, and by hiring them instead, that in a few years we would be rid in California of that curse to farmers and ranchmen, the irresponsible character of farm labor and have in its stead a far more valuable and intelligent class of farm

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* Corroborated by Senator Blaine, p. 22.

laborers. If this were done, then the question, 'what shall we do with our boys' would be answered."

Had the honorable and learned judge lived he would have been gratified to know that the ranchers and fruitgrowers are now exerting themselves to obtain white laborers, having become heartily tired of their experience with the much-lauded Asiatics.

Though much more could be said upon each phase of this great and burning question we have tried to touch upon all of them sufficiently to enable our readers to obtain reliable information on a subject that is yet barely understood east of the Rocky Mountains. It must be clear to every thinking man and woman that while there is hardly a single reason for the admission of Asiatics, there are hundreds of good and strong reasons for their absolute exclusion.

In view of those reasons we ask, nay, we expect, the undivided support of Americans, and those of American sentiment, in the great effort being made to save our nation from a similar fate that has befallen the islands of the Pacific now overrun with Asiatics.

As a fitting close to this document we submit the remarks made by one of the greatest of American statesmen, Hon. James G. Blaine, February 14, 1879, when a bill for restriction of Chinese immigration was before the United States Senate. Mr. Blaine said:

> "Either the Anglo-Saxon race will possess the Pacific slope or the Mongolians will possess it. You give them the start today, with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the inducements to come, while we are filling up the other portions of the Continent, and it is inevitable, if not demonstrable, that they will occupy that space of the country between the Sierras and the Pacific.
>
> "The immigrants that come to us from the Pacific isles, and from all parts of Europe, come here with the idea of the family as much engraven on their minds and hearts, and in customs and habits, as we ourselves have. The Asiatic can not go on with our population and make a homogeneous element.
>
> "I am opposed to the Chinese coming here. I am opposed to making them citizens. I am unalterably opposed to making them voters. There is not a peasant cottage inhabited by a Chinaman. There is not a hearthstone, in the sense we understand it, of an American home, or an English home, or an Irish, or German, or French home. There is not a domestic fireside in that sense; and yet you say it is entirely safe to sit down and permit them to fill up our country, or any part of it.
>
> "Treat them like Christians say those who favor their immigration; yet I believe the Christian testimony is that the conversion of Chinese on that basis is a fearful failure; and that the demoralization of the white race is much more rapid by reason of the contact than is the salvation of the Chinese race. You cannot work a man who must have beef and bread, alongside of a man who can live on rice. **In all such conflicts, and in all such struggles, the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef-and-bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef-and-bread man to the rice standard.**

"Slave labor degraded free labor. It took out its respectability, and put an odious cast upon it. It throttled the prosperity of a fine and fair portion of the United States in the South; and this Chinese, which is worse than slave labor, will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the Union on the Pacific coast.

"We have this day to choose whether we will have for the Pacific coast the civilization of Christ or the civilization of Confucius."

At page 3 of Senate Document 136 (57th Congress, First Session) the table giving the class of labor, average wages, etc., of Chinese in California, compiled by John S. Enos, California State Labor Commissioner, 1883-86, is attacked as not being particularly reliable because he described a condition existing some years previous. **The author of that statement begs the question and betrays his ignorance of the whole matter.** Subsequent reports of the California Bureau of Labor statistics, especially that of Mr. Fitzgerald and the two reports of W. V. Stafford confirm in every particular the statements made so many years ago. It is also a matter of record that the Department of Commerce and Labor has stamped with its approval the California reports which the advocates of Asiatic immigration scorn as unreliable.

APPENDICES.

I.

Increase of Chinese.

The Proceedings of the Asiatic Exclusion League, March, April and May, 1908, contain articles upon the Chinese, wherein a thorough analysis is made of that element of our population, which agrees, in the main, with the statements of Federal officials. The Chinese underrate their number because they do not want the census reports to indicate their success in evading our laws. It was the same in 1870 as now. About 1869 an examination was made, in California, by an attorney of the "Six Companies," and his statement showed that there were more Chinese then in California (having come through the port of San Francisco) than the census one year later showed as in the entire United States. Again, a joint special committee of Congress (1876) found in that year the number of adult Chinese in the State to be as great as that of all the voters in the Commonwealth. Mr. Dunn, a special agent of the Treasury Department, obtained an admission from Consul-General Ho Yow confirming the Treasury Department's figures concerning San Francisco's Chinatown. The Treasury authorities estimated them at between 50,000 and 60,000 (1901). Taking the smaller figures, and assuming that of the 50,000, 2000 are women and children, there was a startling showing: for on the accepted basis of one male adult to every five persons the figures indicate that there were in San Francisco nearly as many Chinese workmen as there were male adults of all other races and nationalities, including natives. Respecting the number in the United States the census of 1900 showed 93,000, but an official of the Treasury Department, testifying before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, declared there were, approximately, 300,000. (See Senate Rept. 776, pp. 86, 142, 234—Feb., 1902.)

II.

An Eastern Opinion of Asiatics.

It is premised in many quarters that the chief reason for opposition to the immigration of Asiatics is the fear of the demoralization of the American workingman through a reduction in wages and the consequent lowering of the American standard of living. It is true that the workingmen fear the insidious competition of Asiatics with its attendant consequences, but to the sociologist and student of the various civilizations which have existed through the ages there is another and very important reason why Asiatics should be debarred from the United States.

Since the inauguration of the campaign against the Japanese and Koreans we frequently hear gentlemen earnestly and sincerely voicing their predilection for the Chinese, as opposed to all other Asiatics. If their contentions be correct what must be the character of our Asiatic residents other than Chinese? The testimony we herewith present is far from being the worst—there is much that is unprintable—and as it relates to conditions in a part of the country remote from San Francisco we may be pardoned for dwelling upon the subject at some length. On Saturday, February 15, 1902, before a Senate committee taking testimony upon "Chinese Exclusion," Mrs. Charlotte Smith, representing the Woman's National Industrial League of America, being given the privilege of addressing the committee, said in part:

"I have sat here for hours listening to elaborate speeches made by lawmakers in regard to how the Chinese affect the financial interests, principally. **Very lightly do you touch on the moral situation.**

"My efforts for the rescue and reform of fallen women in the United States have been, I think, more extensive than those of any other woman in the country, and in my work among those women I have had frequent occasions to see the shocking results of the immorality of the Chinamen who come to this country, very few of them who bring their wives, and who prey upon white girls.

"Now in my further discussion of this question, I will confine myself to Chinese coolie labor as competitive with women as wage-earners, and Chinese as moral factors in the United States. First, the industrial women of this country have more to fear from Chinese than men wage-earners, because men are better organized, and women have no voice in the enacting of laws for their betterment as industrial factors.

"The Chinese have taken the bread out of the mouths of 50,000 women in the city of New York alone. They absorb $3,500,000 annually in that city in one industry, namely, the laundry business. Formerly women could help maintain their dependent families by procuring employment two or three days in the week at $1 per day. This is all of the past, except in isolated cases. The Chinese have a monopoly of the laundry business, and this with steam laundries and improved machinery, most of the steam laundries are managed and run by men, consequently but few women are employed. Therefore they have taken employment away from 500,000 women in the United States.

"The Chinese control the slipper and women's wrapper and underwear trade on the Pacific Coast, also largely the fruit canning industries, in which women and children were formerly employed during the canning season. The Chinese are like a sponge; they absorb and give nothing in return but bad odors and worse morals. They are a standing menace to the women of this country. Their very presence is contaminating. They have sown the seed of vice in every city, town and hamlet in the United States. They encourage, aid and abet the youth of the land to become opium fiends, for from the sale of opium is their greatest revenue derived. Through the introduction of, importing and experimenting in cheap labor of the Chinese, a result is that our insane asylums are full to overflowing and Americans are fast becoming addicted to the use of opium.

"In my investigations as president of the Woman's Rescue League, which is a branch of the Woman's National Industrial League, I found 175 women who had been baptized in the Christian faith living with Chinamen in New York, in 1892. These women bring young pagans into the world and with their so-called husbands worship in joss-houses and become disciples of Confucius as well as opium fiends.

"Furthermore, 99 out of every 100 Chinese are gamblers, and this undesirable class come into direct competition with women who are breadwinners. The beastly and immoral lives that these Mongolians lead is only too well known in the police courts of our large cities, where patrol wagons filled with Chinese gamblers and Sunday school scholars—every Monday morning—goes to prove, as an object lesson, that they can never be "Christianized."

"In February, 1898, 700 Hebrews and Italians were discharged from two steam laundries on the East-side, New York, and 400 Chinese took their places. A delegation waited upon me at 24 Union Square, the headquarters of the Rescue League, and asked me to address a mass meeting called to protest against these Chinese substitutes, and within ten days the Hebrews and Italians were reinstated.

"I say most emphatically that the Chinese laundries could not exist six months in the large cities of the East if it were not for the patronage of the so-called industrial class. I regret to say that they are supported in the East largely by organized labor. Men who want union prices for their labor patronize and sustain Chinese laundries in all our large towns and cities. To illustrate:

"In February, 1898, I walked 108 blocks in a section of New York, a section that might be properly called the Hebrew city, where every man, woman and child were conversing in the Hebrew language and where every daily newspaper was published in Hebrew. I counted 49 Chinese laundries and but one white laundry run by a Hebrew, who was making a very precarious living. The tenants in this district were nearly all Hebrews, with a few Italians, who could not speak English, and yet the Chinese, who could speak neither Hebrew, Italian, nor English, controlled the laundry trade. The rich and well-to-do middle class do not patronize Chinese laundries. It is the poor, laboring people who maintain Chinese laundries. This, with the unsanitary conditions of these establishments and the Chinese mode of living, makes them a menace to society.

"During the year 1889, in Washington, D. C., 564 Chinese were arrested, the majority of whom were members of the Metropolitan Church Sunday school. Men and women, pipes and opium-joint paraphernalia were brought into the police court. The very worst of gamblers and most immoral opium-joint keepers were so-called Sunday school Chinese pupils. I was interested in having these Chinese "Christians" raided, because of their contaminating young children, and the result was published in the newspapers at that time.

"In Boston, June 23, 1894, 15,000 unfortunate girls were turned loose to forage upon the community because of a moral crusade inaugurated against vice. What was the result? American born, educated girls, became the mistresses of the Chinese of Boston. The tenderloin floating population was soon after transferred to Chinatown, and the Chinese were permitted to go into the business of keeping houses of ill-repute, and engaged extensively in this illicit traffic. This in puritanical Boston, where educated, American-born white slaves were bought and sold for as low as $2 per head, while Chinese women were prized at $1,500 to $3,000 each. **The Chinese, with few exceptions, do not bring their wives and children to this country, therefore they prey upon American girls because they can be procured so much cheaper. They place a much higher value on their women than do Americans upon theirs.**

"A few days since I had a conversation with Minister Wu and he told me I was an enemy of China. He wanted me to say if the Chinese were not good husbands. My reply is that I do not want to see any more young pagans brought into the world in this country. I do not want to see any more children in this country become disciples of Confucius and opium fiends.

"It is time Christian women began missionary work in our big cities. The heathen are making more converts to Confucius than the missionaries are making converts to Christianity. Therefore **it would be well to keep the missionaries at home and help save the bodies as well as the souls of our girls.**"

Mrs. Smith then quoted at length from a report upon the spread of loathsome diseases in Massachusetts, wherein the Woman's Rescue League and its president received much honorable mention. This report proved by evidence from the best medical authorities in Massachusetts that 75 per cent of all diseases treated in Boston originated from venereal diseases, and it was also satisfactorily demonstrated that already a large percentage of the population of the United States have become infected with loathsome disease because of carelessness and indiscriminate association with the Asiatic race. Mrs. Smith then went on to say that "If some decided steps were not taken by the Government to exclude and keep out this undesirable class, it would not be long until legislators would be asking that there be leper hospitals established in every township in this country.

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this is a serious question, 300,000 (?) Chinese in the United States and 1,000,000 in the Philippine Islands who are entitled to the protection of our flag. The wage women, who are helpless, and society should be protected from coming in contact with these imported Asiatic heathens as competitive breadwinners. Therefore, I ask in the name of 25,000 organized industrial women and in the interest of morality, health, and industry that the Chinese be excluded from our shores." —[Senate Report 776, Part II, pp. 442-447.]

In looking back over the sixteen years which have elapsed since the giving of the above testimony, it seems astonishing that the Commission who presented the case of California before the Senate committee should be so crassly ignorant as not to see the Japanese menace that was even then confronting them and insist upon placing the Japanese and other Asiatics on the same footing as the Chinese. To those familiar with the characteristics of the Chinese and who have also made a study of the Japanese, both in Japan, on the Pacific Coast and in Hawaii, it is very evident that the Japanese problem is the most dangerous and far reaching.

III.

Asiatics in Hawaii, Philippines and Australia.

In 1853 the foreign-born Chinese in the Hawaiian Islands were 364, in 1900 they had increased to 21,746. The Japanese were not enumerated until 1884, at which time there were 116 of foreign birth, while by 1900 their numbers had swollen to 56,230. In the latter year there were of native birth—Japanese 4881, Chinese 4021, making a grand total of 86,878 Asiatics. Of this immense number, in so small a territory, 51,320 were engaged in agriculture; 1196 in professional service; 8769 in domestic service; 3286 in trade and transportation; and 4302 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. During the decade 1890-1900, Asiatics in mechanical occupations increased from 606 to 1389, Japanese mechanics, alone, increasing from 42 to 904.

In twenty-seven licensed occupations for the year 1898 we find 1468 Chinese, 452 Japanese; while for the year 1904 there were 1288 Chinese and 1241 Japanese license-holders, against 1629 license-holders of all other nationalities, including native Hawaiians. (Bull. 66 U. S. Bureau of Labor.)

In Bulletin 58 (of same Department) it is stated that the Chinese population of the Philippines (1903) was 41,035, of whom only 517 were females. There were also 921 Japanese and a sprinkling of other Orientals. From the tabulations submitted it is to be seen that the yellow men are about 89 per cent traders and mechanics, the remaining 11 per cent covering all other occupations.

In Australia the people of Teutonic and Celtic stock are insistent in their demand for the "Maintenance of a White Australia," a question which involves more for that country than does our Chinese exclusion policy for the United States. The Chinese question there has developed special aspects of more or less direct interest to Americans. So early as 1854 a Restriction Act was passed in the colonies of Victoria and New South Wales, and these acts were amended, from time to time, being made more stringent in their operation. Notwithstanding the harshness of the laws passed, in 1861 there were 12,988 Chinese in New South Wales and 24,732 in Victoria, constituting over 11 per cent of the adult male population of those colonies.

Wherever the Chinese go the experiences of white workingmen are the same. The Chinaman and Japanese will undercut, or as was said by a prominent merchant suffering from Asiatic competition, "**As to patriotism, there is nothing in it selling goods; it is pocketism.**" They work below the rates of wages established by the government board, and the report of a New South Wales Royal Commission stated that "to stop this unless there be an inspector to each Asiatic seems impossible." The Asiatic defies the law with the quiet pertinacity peculiar to the race and there has as yet been no method devised to compel an observance of the most primitive sanitary laws.

During the past few years an earnest and honest enforcement of the exclusion laws has decreased the Chinese to about 34,000, but Japanese have crept in until there are now about 3000, while the Hindus and Cingalese have about an equal number. This is in striking contrast to the operation of our exclusion laws. (See Bull. 58, Bureau of Labor.)

IV.

Chinese Abroad.

According to a Chinese official investigation made public the latter part of 1907, the number of Chinese in other countries was as follows: Japan, 17,673; Russian Asia, 37,000; Hongkong, 314,391; Siam, 2,755,709; Burmah, 134,560; Java, 1,825,700; Australia, 34,465; Europe, 1760; Corea, 11,260; Amoy, 74,500; Malaysia, 1,023,500; Annam, 197,307; Philippines, 83,785; Africa, 8200; and America, 272,829, of whom 250,000 are in North America. The total number was 6,792,639. These figures are not as formidable as they might be, but, even taken alone, without considering the vast number of Japanese and other Asiatics who are developing a migratory disposition, they indicate very fully the possibilities of an Asiatic invasion unless restrained by stringent exclusion laws. A country which has 7,000,000 of its subjects in other lands, under existing circumstances, would probably have ten times the number if barriers to their entrance were not raised by apprehensive peoples.

While the Chinese have been sixty years in arriving at their stated numerical strength on this continent, the Japanese in twenty-five years have increased from a comparatively nothing to 200,000 and possibly many more. In view of these facts, it may be asked are we unduly alarmed? Are the protestations of the Chinese and Japanese Governments that they are opposed to the emigration of their peoples to be considered sincere or are they evasions?

V.

Expulsion of Chinese from Eureka, Cal.

One of the most efficient Labor Commissioners of the State of Washington said in a report to the Governor upon Japanese immigration, "If we were a union of men instead of a union of States, there would be no necessity for the passage of exclusion laws."

The truth of that statement has been demonstrated by the action of the people of Eureka, who in 1885 forcibly expelled the Chinese from that city, and the movement became general throughout the county (Humboldt, Cal.). This was accomplished without violence or destruction of property, and even after the lapse of twenty-three years the sentiment is as strong as at the time of expulsion. The Japanese have also been put under the ban, with the exception of about a dozen "Samurai students," who are permitted to occupy the lofty position of "utility men" in houses of prostitution. The son of a gentleman who owned all of "Old Chinatown" was Mayor of Eureka in 1908, and was and is yet one of the most enthusiastic of exclusionists, as indeed are all the people, from the "millionaire millowner" to the humblest "clam-digger." The time is approaching, very rapidly, when the people of California will again be a unit on the question of exclusion, and it is to be feared that continual disappointments will shake their faith in representative government and impel them to seek relief by methods other than petition and persuasion.

VI.

Characteristics of Asiatics.

"The entire absence of good faith on the part of China in the observance of her treaty obligations."

[p. 79, Lord Charles Beresford's "Breaking Up of China."]

"The Oriental's idea of diplomacy is to fool his adversary, for the time being, regardless of the future."

"Perjury is not a crime, as it is taken for granted that every man will lie as long as it will benefit him."

[RounsevelleWildman.]

"It is characteristic of Asia that truth is not considered a virtue if deceit will promote interest."

[Prof. Paul Reinsch.]

"Absence of truth, uprightness and honor—this is the most appalling void, and, unfortunately, it meets one in all classes and professions of the people."

[Dr. Williamson.]

"A man of good physical and intellectual qualities, regarded more as an economic factor, is turned out cheaper by the Chinese than any other race. He is deficient in the higher moral qualities, individual trustworthiness, public spirit, sense of duty, and active courage, a group of qualities, perhaps best represented in our language by the word manliness; but in the humbler qualities of patience, mental and physical, and perseverance in labor he is unrivalled. "

[Bourne—England's Chinese Agent.]

"A people without nerves as without digestion—they will overwhelm the world.

[Rudyard Kipling.]

"Does any one doubt that the day is at hand when China will have cheap fuel from her coal mines and cheap transportation by her railways and steamers? When that day comes she may wrest the control of the world's markets, especially throughout Asia, from England and Germany. A hundred years hence, when the Chinese, Japanese, Hindus and Negroes, who are now as two to one to the higher race, shall be as three to one; when they have borrowed the science of Europe and developed their still virgin worlds, the pressure of their competition upon the white man will be irresistible. He will be driven from every mutual market and forced to confine himself within his own."

[Pearson—"National Life and Character."]

"Forty centuries of privation, of fierce competition for subsistence, have left ineffaceable impressions on the yellow race; have given that race a minimum of nerves, power to work hard with little food and little sleep, and to rest under the most uncomfortable conditions; have given that race qualities of self-control, servility, fatalism and perseverance which no Caucasian nation, or ever should, approximate, and which no Caucasian nation can afford to ignore.

"I tremble when I think what possibilities lie in stirring that terrible people —one-third the population of the earth—into industrial effectiveness, into— well, that is the terrifying problem. Into what?—Who shall say? Out of the land of the Dragon may sweep some modern Kublai Khan, some new Tamerlane—not perhaps with fire and sword, but with industry and rice— to destroy our Christian civilization."

[Congressman Livernash.]

"Every Chinese official, with the possible exception of one in a thousand, is a liar, a thief, and a tyrant."

"Dirt, falsehood, corruption, and cruelty are some of the least objectionable of Chinese vices."

"Chinese literature inculcates all the virtues; Chinese life exhibits all the vices. Chinese professions are everything that is desirable; Chinese practices are everything that is convenient."

[Sir Henry Norman, in his "Peoples and Politics of the Far East," pp. 282-297.]

"It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are, morally, the most debased people on the face of the earth. Forms of vice, which in other countries are barely named, are in China so common that they excite no comment among the natives. Their touch is pollution, and harsh as the opinion may seem, justice to our own race demands that they should not settle on our soil. Science may have lost something, but mankind has gained by the exclusive policy which has governed China during the past centuries."

[Bayard Taylor—"India, China and Japan," published 1855.]

The reasons for presenting the opinions of various travelers and publicists, relative to the characteristics of the Chinese, are, that at the present time many people who are bitterly opposed to the immigration of Japanese are openly and honestly advocating a modification of the existing Chinese exclusion laws on the ground that the Chinese are superior to Japanese in honesty and morality. If there be any grounds for such a condition, then it is undoubtedly the duty of the American government to bar out every Japanese, no matter what his standing—be it laborer, merchant or traveler. Did space permit evidence could be submitted showing that the characteristics

of all Orientals are very similar and that no exception should be made in favor of any particular people from Asia.

VII.

California a Gold Mine for Asiatics.

Senator Perkins, a few years ago, while addressing the United States Senate upon Chinese Exclusion, submitted statistics showing that the Chinese had, in thirty years, sent or carried to China, $800,000,000. A prediction made in 1906 indicated that in a like period the money taken or sent out of the United States by the Japanese would exceed that sent out by the Chinese.

That this prediction is in a fair way of realization may be seen from the figures submitted, based upon the number of Japanese in California as per census reports of 1890 and 1900, and from a "statistical pamphlet" published by the Asiatic Exclusion League.

In 1890 there were 1147 Japanese in California; in 1900 there were 10,151, the rate of increase being 900 per cent. Estimating that each Japanese saves and transmits to his home 50 cents per day—and this estimate is possibly far too small—the amount for the decade ending 1900 would exceed $12,000,000. The increase of the Japanese population of California, 1900-1908, approximates 55,000, an increase of nearly 8000 per year. Figured on the 50-cent basis, the total amount, including that of the past decade would approximate $75,000,000 from California alone, and in the short period of eighteen years. If we should include in this statement all the Japanese on the mainland of the United States and in Hawaii—estimated at 200,000—the total amount would exceed $250,000,000. Beside the savings and remittances of those engaged in agricultural and domestic occupations, we have an army of merchants and manufacturers whose profits derived from business transactions with Americans run so high as 30 to 35 per cent on the capital invested, and whose remittances to Japan are made through the numerous Japanese banks and mercantile institutions.

Is it any wonder that the Japanese Government encourages the migration of its people? If we closed our doors to her as she is doing to us in Manchuria and Corea, or burdened her trade with rebates and differentials, where would her gold supply come from? Had the enormous amount of gold of which California has been drained by Asiatics been received by white men and women it would have passed through the natural channels of trade and remained in the State for permanent investment, and our progress, instead of being remarkable, would be little short of marvelous.

VIII.

A Letter Written by John P. Irish (1883).

"We found San Francisco in a ferment over the Chinese question. Hayes insulted every lady and kicked every laborer by his veto of the effective Chinese bill passed by the last Democratic Congress, and Arthur had just deliberately repeated the dose.

"**I came here not for health**, but for the opportunity of looking at the Chinese question. When I saw it, I thanked God that for fifteen years, from the beginning of the evil until now, I had fought it. Since I came a ship landed a thousand Chinese laborers and thirty-five prostitues, shipped to their masters here, for whom they must slave in infamy. Nearly forty thousand live in the district called Chinatown, and this district has in it not one dozen wives, not one dozen families. Forty thousand white laborers would represent one hundred and sixty thousand of population. Here every woman is unclean, she has no children, she is a slave, sold at birth to infamy and trained to vice as white men train their children to virtue. The men cook their own food, tend their own foul sleeping places and live on twenty dollars a year.

"CHINESE CHEAP LABOR! Here is a tragedy—alongside this wifeless, childless, Christless labor, the white toiler with his wife and weans competes in vain.

"THE SAN FRANCISCO HOODLUM! He is a victim of the cancer. He is the son of a white laborer who was guttered in the unequal contest: his sons missed their schooling and at working age had to compete with Chinese labor. The competition was impossible, they fell into vice. The white laborers' daughters have not a thing to which they can turn to honestly earn a living. The young men who in the natural course would mate them and make them homes are in the jail, the gutter, the gambling house. So the girls' feet take hold of perdition and they carry their bodies to market to meet the Chinese and compete with them in the footrace to hell. So the white laboring class is festered out, livid with the leprosy of the Chinese curse, rotting with the cancer which grows and thrives as they decay. This is a sketch of the effects of Mongolian labor on this Coast. The picture is underdrawn; it is not colored."*

IX.

Medical Testimony Regarding Asiatics.

Much has been said in the past relative to the undesirability of Asiatic residents among whites, and much is being said to-day by philanthropists and missionaries as to the desirability and actual necessity of their presence among us. These differences of opinion are irreconcilable, from one point of view the conversion of the Asiatic to Christianity is the upmost thought, with the other it is the preservation of American youth from contamination by the vices of Asia. To those inspired men like St. Francis Xavier and De Huc who devoted their lives to the enlightenment of the Orientals, in their own lands, we bow in admiration and even adoration; to those who, like Bishop Hamilton, wish the Asiatic to come here for conversion and who look forward to the time when the coming American will be part Negro, part Mongolian, and part Caucasian, we entertain sentiments of the greatest horror, and declare that it is questionable whether there are any people on the face of the civilized globe who would have borne so orderly and so peacefully the ills brought upon them by the invasion of Asiatics as have the bone and sinew of the people of California.

The question as it confronts us to-day has many phases, the most important one being that illustrated by testimony taken before a Senate Committee of the California Legislature, 1876 and 1877.

"Dr. Toland, a man standing at the head of his profession, founder of the Toland Medical University, and at the time a member of the San Francisco Board of Health and practitioner of twenty-three years' standing, testified before this committee (pp. 168, 169, 170, Report of California State Committee) that he had seen and treated boys eight and ten years old for diseases contracted on Jackson street in Chinese houses of prostitution; and again, when asked what effect upon the community the presence of Chinese has, he replied that it had a tendency to fill our hospitals with invalids, and it would be a great relief to the younger portion of the community to get rid of them. When asked as to whether the coming of Chinese tended to advance Christian civilization among them, he replied that it had a contrary effect. There is scarcely a single day but what a dozen young men come to my office for treatment of diseases, nine-tenths of which have been contracted from Chinese women. The prices are so low that they can go whenever they please. The women do not care how old the boys are, as long as they have money. Have never heard or read of any country in the world where there are so many children diseased as there is in San Francisco."

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* See opinion of M. M. Estee, p. 21.

At pages 171 and 172 of the same report the testimony of Dr. J. C. Shorb appears. He testified that the influence of Chinese prostitution upon the white population is exceedingly bad. That by reason of the cheapness of service it affords unlimited opportunity to white boys. "I have had boys from twelve up to eighteen and nineteen, any number of them, afflicted with syphilis, contracted from Chinese prostitutes. No one can pretend to map out the ravages which syphilis will make. You don't know to what extent it may affect generations yet unborn. No man with any knowledge of the facts can reach the conclusion that Chinese immigration tends to the advancement of Christian civilization."

"Mr. F. A. Gibbs, chairman of Hospital Committee of the Board of Supervisors, San Francisco, testified that there were at the time thirty-six Chinamen in the pest-house, eight of whom were afflicted with leprosy, and most of the balance with venereal diseases. And, again, that there were many cases of white young men in the County Hospital suffering from diseases contracted in the Chinese quarter."

Of the utter contempt of Asiatics for sanitary laws ample evidence will be found in the preceding pages, but we call particular attention to the utterances of an eminent medical gentleman of Oregon, Dr. Ralph Matson, State Biologist, and a recognized authority on tropical diseases, who, with his brother, Dr. Ray Matson—former health officer of Portland, Or.—conducted an exhaustive investigation of the "bubonic plague" situation in Portland and other parts of Oregon. The conclusions of Dr. Matson are:

"Until the Asiatic sections of every city on the Pacific Coast are thoroughly modernized and the inhabitants made to conform to the standards of cleanliness set by Americans, the Coast will never be free from the danger of an incursion of the bubonic plague," saying in conclusion: "If this result can not be obtained by any other method than the stringent exclusion of the Chinese, Hindus, Coreans and Japanese, then I do not believe that exclusion is too high a price to pay for it."

Much more evidence of the baneful influence of the presence of Asiatics could be here produced, but we deem the foregoing sufficient for the purpose of calling the attention of those not familiar with the Asiatic question to the manifold dangers to which our youth are exposed, and the inevitable result if such horrible conditions are permitted to become permanently engrafted upon Caucasian civilization.

X.

Are Chinese Honest and Truthful?

It is being urged in many quarters that Chinese are desirable additions to the body civic—and would be to the body politic. There is some testimony in the report before quoted (see Appendix IX) which throws some light on the subject. At page 114, Abram Altemeyer, a member of the firm of Einstein Bros. & Co., being duly sworn, deposed:

"Have employed from 200 to 375 Chinamen in our factory. We have a contract to recompense us for anything they steal. They will bear close watching. I think they will take things whenever they get a chance.* Have made the contractors pay us $1000 for goods stolen. Many of the goods (boots and shoes) were found in their boarding and lodging houses."

Davis Louderback, judge of the Police Court, said of the Chinese (p. 158): "I think they are a very immoral, mean, mendacious, dishonest, thieving people, as a general thing. As witnesses, their veracity is of the lowest degree. They do not appear to realize the sancity of an oath, and it is difficult to enforce the laws, where they are concerned, for that reason. They also use our laws to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and malicious prosecutions are frequent."

Mr. W. J. Shaw, who had traveled extensively in China, testified (p. 84): "Regarding their honesty, I can mention this fact which may interest the committee: I was assured by all the merchants with whom I conversed on the subject—in the towns that I visited in China—that nobody hired a Chinese servant without taking a bond from some responsible person that he would be responsible for any thefts that servant might perpetrate. It was considered that Chinamen were so constituted that they must sooner or later steal something."

Note—It may be advanced that the facts presented in the pamphlet, "Meat vs. Rice," and its appendices that conditions have changed since the seventies, eighties or nineties, but the Asiatic Exclusion League, during its three years of existence, has accumulated sufficient evidence to warrant the declaration that the change has not been for the better. Never before in the history of California had she so many Asiatics within her borders—including Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Hindus there are more than 100,000.

It is true that the whites have increased in population and that the material resources of the State have been developed, but that curse of all governments—republican and monarchial—the trend of population away from the land—has been accelerated and abnormally increased, in our case, through the presence of these Asiatics as tillers of the soil. A secondary Asiatic population following the agriculturists have built up a numerous class of Asiatic traders who, making an enormous profit through a system of semi-compulsion with their countrymen, are enlarging their scope so as to compete with the white merchant for the patronage of his white customers.

For information or literature apply, or write, to Asiatic Exclusion League, Rooms 812-815 Metropolis Bldg., San Francisco.

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* See opinion of Judge Estee, p. 21.

[illegible]
[illegible] Ave, Berkeley

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Chinese Slave Girls

A BIT OF HISTORY

[illegible]

WOMAN'S OCCIDENTAL BOARD
OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

920 SACRAMENTO STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

PRICE TWO CENTS

Chinatown

declared

A Nuisance!

CHINESE SLAVE GIRLS

A BIT OF HISTORY

BY MRS. E. V. ROBBINS

THE people of San Francisco were jubilant when, in 1868, a treaty was ratified between the United States and China. As an expression of their joy, a banquet was tendered to our Ambassador, Hon. Anson Burlingame, who so successfully brought the two countries into pleasant relations with each other. A large procession in honor of the event followed, in which Chinese merchants participated.

Later on, an excursion, made up of commercial men and editors from Chicago, and the highest State officials, the first to pass over the new railroad, came to California, hoping to foster commercial relations with the Pacific Coast and China. On their return, two Chinese merchants accompanied them as their guests, to whom a reception was tendered at a large hotel in Chicago. All believed that the way was open for friendly intercourse with China.

The railroad, so recently completed, had been confronted by a problem. How could it be constructed? Labor-men preferred to dig for gold. Chinese men had come to get gold—they were comparatively new and strange, willing to work, and as an experiment, were employed at one dollar a day, and the railroad was built.

Later on, Denis Kearney, of "sandlot" fame, began to deliver orations, and Chinese cheap labor was his theme. "Labor-men" were excited to a frenzy, and began to march through the streets at night threatening capitalists, burning Chinese laundries, stoning the Chinese to death at times. Boys of all classes caught the impulse to throw stones at them, and enjoyed their prey as if they were squirrels or chipmunks.

Politicians took up the cry, and all political platforms must be anti-Chinese. In those days, not all who came from China were coolies. Many who had begun the study of the classics, and had entered the list for promotion, came to California for gold. Failing in that, they accepted positions in families as cooks, or as house servants. They were fine fellows. Many pathetic stories could be related of cruelties practiced upon them by the mob.

Chinese Slave Girls

In that early day, rumors were occasionally heard of the enslaving of Chinese women and girls. "The Woman's Occidental Board," organized in 1873, began a warfare to rescue these helpless girls. Just then the mob spirit began to prevail. Another evil arose, and that, the Chinese slave owners did not like to have the traffic in slaves interfered with. Thus our work was made difficult. We were between the Scylla and Charybdis—danger on both sides. Our missionary, Miss Margaret Culbertson, went into the conflict undaunted. A booklet recently published is dedicated: *"To the Memory of Miss Margaret Culbertson, Militant Saint and Sainted Warrior, who at Peril of Life, Fought a Good Fight for the rescue of Slave Girls of California,"* also to her successor, Miss Donaldina Cameron, and to two others of another society. The mob broke the windows

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of a mission and carried the missionary pastor through the streets in effigy, offering indignities to all who took part in the rescue work. Policemen were at times detailed to guard our building for weeks at a time. Dynamite sticks had been found on the door-sills and on the window ledge. Chinese highbinders learned, during the twenty years' conflict with Miss Culbertson, that they must quietly accept the inevitable, thus making their threats of vengeance less formidable for Miss Cameron, her successor. Yet the difficulties and dangers in the rescue work have been just as severe through the fourteen years of Miss Cameron's experience.

The question may be asked, How did the Chinese dare to carry on such a traffic in California?

We have a few facts that are authoritative. Whoever goes to the open ports of Asia, from our country or England, whether officials or persons that are undesirable, they are considered by the natives as Christians, because they are from "Christian America" or "Christian England." From these sources, because of their social vices, they have elaborated a system, first of all, of brothel slavery, and other vices have followed. The British Governor of Hongkong reported officially that conditions required that in a British colony large numbers of women should be held in practical slavery. What these officials have done has been accepted by the Oriental people about them as done by a Christian civilization, and is not the outgrowth of Oriental conditions and customs principally. "It has been the misfortune of the Orient that there were brought to their borders by Western civilization elements calculated to induce their criminal classes to ally themselves with these aggressive and stranger Christians, to destroy

safeguards which have heretofore been sufficient for the most part to conserve Chinese social morality."

Chinese criminals have found that the buying up of little girls in China for a few dollars, and bringing them to California, is a profitable business. Women are persuaded to come also with the promise of a husband here on arrival. The "husband" pays a big price and locks her securely into a cell, and thus for many years brothel slavery has been perpetuated. Little girls are kept in families who prove to be hard task-masters, until they arrive at an age for selling, at a high price. These are often rescued and brought to the mission home, with bruises on their bodies and cuts on their heads, and look scarcely human, because so worn with the hardships put upon them.

American capitalists help this traffic by erecting in our midst large buildings for the special purpose of brothel slavery, and China and Japan furnish victims.

California was young when the Occidental Board began its work; but twenty-three years of Statehood had been enjoyed. But few charities then existed in San Francisco, and those who compose the board have been in touch with almost every charity that has arisen.

More than one thousand Chinese girls and women have been sheltered in our Mission Home, at 920 Sacramento street, San Francisco. Our headquarters, which had become so widely known, was destroyed by earthquake and fire on April 18, 1906, but was rebuilt upon the ruins of the old, and reoccupied in April, 1908. These girls perform the work of the Home and learn all branches of domestic science. A day school is carried on in the Home, the teacher, having been trained for public schools, gives them

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careful instruction. A Chinese teacher gives them lessons in Chinese history, and also thorough Bible lessons. Music is also taught them, and a few learn to play the piano or organ. They attend the Chinese church, sing in the choir, and if needed, play the organ accompaniment. Some of them become ambitious for a higher education. Two are in a college, tuition free, and two are in Eastern seminaries supported by Eastern friends. These refuse to listen to any offer of marriage, however flattering, in their desire to teach their own people.

Many marriages have taken place, and pleasant homes established in various cities—Portland, Des Moines, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Diego—and quite a community has grown in San Francisco and Oakland, and their children are being educated. A tribute paid to the memory of one of the girls who had become the wife of a pastor in another city shows the character of many who go out from the Home. We copy from it: "Grace Woo was thoroughly prepared for her life work and became a great force in the Mission; to the Chinese women she was an oracle, going among them with her sweet, Christian graces and American ways, giving a helping hand to every one in need. She was an accomplished singer, and never failed to charm when she sang 'O Eyes that are Weary,' and 'Abide With Me.' Her whole life was wrapped up in her husband's work, and in the training of little Ruth and Andrew." Chinese children are bright. Environment means everything to the children of every race and nation. A little girl of three and a half years often repeated names of all the books of the Bible, learning them by listening to the study of the older girls. The largest

number cared for in the Mission Home at one time is sixty.

American lawyers and officials can be found who will, for a large fee, remand these poor girls to the slave den. Graft is a tame word for such cruelty.

Let me give an instance of the intrigue practiced to get possession of these slave girls:

After thirty-one years of conflict with highbinders and other officials, our missionary received a party who came to play a rôle quite unique. A steamer girl had been placed in care of the Home, to await deportation. A Chinese man came with a pretense to claim her as his bride. He brought accomplices with him, a permit from the United States Marshal, a marriage license, a Justice of the Peace, and an attorney. What more could she ask? She did not summon the girl, but learned through the telephone that no permit had heen granted. She then considered it all a fraudulent transaction, and dismissed the party without ceremony. The girl was deported on the day following. A school receives these unfortunates on arriving in Shanghai. Thus the white officials may have lost their big fee, the Chinese accomplices their share in the sale of the woman, and the would-be groom the loss of a two or three thousand dollar chattel. All who find shelter in the Home are challenged with writs of habeas corpus to appear at court; a contest ensues; we rarely lose a case, and it speaks well for our judiciary, and for our attorney, and for our alert missionary. The Chinese highbinders may have lost through our work more than one million dollars in this traffic—losing even one thousand dollars on each girl rescued.

The leavening process is going on, which

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A Nuisance!

will tell in future generations. "Out from Paganism, into Christianity" is our motto.— *The Overland Monthly, January, 1908.*

The Occidental Board has four day schools, the first opened in 1877, near the homes of Chinese merchants, Miss M. M. Baskin, teacher; the Condit school in Oakland; a Kindergarten, and the Home School. A competent Chinese girl is in training for kindergarten work. Some early pupils, who had five or more years of instruction with us in English, are in universities; others have graduated, and still others are holding prominent positions. If English is to be the universal language of China, teachers will be in demand. The trend is for "higher education" among the Chinese boys and girls in California.

We support twenty-eight missionaries in foreign lands. "The Lord sendeth forth His commandment upon the earth. His word runneth very swiftly."

Our new building, named "Presbyterian Mission House," is headquarters for various Presbyterian organizations, with auditorium and committee rooms on first floor.

Chinatown

declared

A Nuisance!

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CHINATOWN

DECLARED A NUISANCE!

CONTENTS:

1. INTRODUCTION—
   The "New Grant Boom" of the Republican Party.
2. BOARD OF HEALTH.
3. MAYOR I. S. KALLOCH.
4. THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY of California.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Chinese evil in the State of California has been for a long time considered in politics a certain something to catch votes.

Neither the Republican nor Democratic party has ever intended that this Chinese issue should ever be settled, because it was their favorite hobby-horse upon which to ride into office.

Mayor upon Mayor, Governor after Governor, Legislature after Legislature, Supervisors upon Supervisors promised to listen to the complaints of their constituents regarding the Chinese.

The Republican Supervisors of *to-day* refuse to take action in the condemnation of Chinatown. The Democratic ex-Mayor, Mr. Bryant, goes into secret sessions with the Chinese Consul, Colonel Bee, and the six Chinese companies, and organizes a Vigilance Committee, because the W. P. C. has dared, thanks to good offices of Mayor I. S. Kalloch, to declare Chinatown a nuisance, because its filthy condition endangers the health of the City and County of San Francisco.

This legitimate act on the part of the Board of Health has been *prostituted* by the Republican party, for the purpose of starting a "new Grant boom" throughout the Eastern States.

These vile politicians of the Republican party, who care not for the lives of citizens, nor for the individual prosperity of a sovereign State, try to make capital out of this our legal right—even out of our misery; they thus seek to destroy the confidence of citizens in each other, in order that a state of feeling may be produced all over the land which will pepetuate again, and may be forever, the power of the Republican party.

This action of the Board of Health has been taken up by the "Grant" newspapers of the Eastern States, and is distorted by them into something violating treaty-obligations with foreign powers. A mob, they say, is in existence in San Francisco; the militia is disloyal; the Second Regiment, to prove this, is disarmed; U. S. troops have to be despatched, in order to quell a communistic revolution in California, which *they say* is at hand, and is spreading towards the Eastern States.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is, as intended, at least by the Republican party, that a "Strong Government" is needed; or, in other words: "General Grant, who once saved the Union, is the only man to save it again from destruction, because—Chinatown is declared a nuisance and the Chinese are to be prevented from living in filthy and over-crowded habitations.

The W. P. C. consists of law-abiding citizens. They have proved this repeatedly. They intend to sustain the action of the Board of Health.

The subjoined reports give an idea, to those not conversant with the evils existing in Chinatown, what this locality consists of. The enumeration of nuisances prevailing there must convince even a prejudiced mind, that Chinatown is a cancer-spot, which endangers the healthy and prosperous condition of the City of San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO, MARCH 10, 1880.

THE COMMITTEE.

THE BOARD OF HEALTH.

Resolutions of Condemnation Adopted.

The Board of Health held a special meeting yesterday morning. After reading the report of the Committee, consisting of Mayor I. S. Kalloch, Dr. Henry S. Gibbons, Jr., and Health Officer J. L. Meares, which was appointed on the second instant to investigate the condition of Chinatown, and recommend to the Board what measures should be taken for the preservation of the city's health, it was adopted by a unanimous vote. The report condemns the twelve blocks occupied by the Chinese as a nuisance, and reads as follows:

To the Board of Health of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California—Gentlemen: On the second day of February the following resolution, offered by Mayor Kalloch, your President, was adopted:

Whereas, We have in the centre of this city an alien population, which, if living as our people live, would make a city as large as the city of Oakland, with laws, customs, courts and institutions of their own, utterly at variance with and dangerous to the health, morals and prosperity of our city, and threatening, unless efficient measures are enforced, to destroy the value of our property, imperil the health of our citizens, and make San Francisco an Asiatic instead of American city; therefore

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed by this Board, empowered to make a careful investigation of the condition of the portion of our city called Chinatown, and to report what sanitary measures, if any, should be taken for the protection of the health and property of our people.

We, your Committee, acting under the authority vested in us by the adoption of the resolution, beg leave to submit the following report:

The importance of the duties involved in this investigation was fully realized, and in making this report we have had but one object in view, the presentation of a truthful account of the present sanitary condition of Chinatown.

The first impression created by visiting the portion of the city called "Chinatown" is that of unnatural crowding created by there being a vastly larger number of people in a contracted territory than can possibly exist without detriment to their own health and endangering the health of the city. Some 30,000 human beings, at the lowest calculation, are living mainly in a space bounded by California street, Montgomery, Broadway, Dupont and Kearny.

CHINATOWN INSPECTED.

A closer inspection has revealed to your Committee a condition of things which we are not at a loss to pronounce a disgrace to the civilization of the age, and which demands at once the most energetic measures for its relief. As the appointed guardians of the health of the city, we should feel ourselves derelict in duty, unless we should call attention to the situation.

The first place visited by your Committee required a descent of two long flights of stairs to reach it. Near the entrance to this underground den there are large waste pipes running from the water-closets and sinks of the building above ground, which empty into open wooden boxes above the sewer, and the mass of filth is so great that the sewer is frequently choked and the troughs run over. The crowded occupants of the underground regions are hardly to blame for avoiding such wretched apologies as their "water closets" for the purpose of nature. Filth of this and every other description is everywhere patent to the senses both of sight and smell. Amidst all this smoke and stench and rottenness, in rooms 8x10 and 10x12 feet, 12 persons eat and sleep. We present these rooms as specimens of the alley. In the stories above ground all manner of business is carried on, one devoted to cooking, another to gambling and the third to the manufacture of overalls, cheap shirts, etc., for the workingmen of San Francisco.

In another basement near by, thirteen Chinamen make their home and headquarters in a room eight feet square. In a room 6x6 feet, men and women are huddled together in beastly promiscuousness. We may say of these places, like the most we have inspected, that they are absolutely without proper ventilation, and it seems unaccountable how human beings can live in them for a single night. The sickening stench arising from thousands of such foul places in the very heart of our city would breed a plague in a week, if Providence, in His mercy, did not open the Golden Gate and pour the cleansing breezes of the sea over us.

LITTLE FIRE FURNACES.

In a room in the rear of the last mentioned, eight feet long by three feet wide, is a row of open fire-places, fashioned from tin oil cans cut in halves, each half making a little furnace. They are frequently set on wooden floors and shelves, the only protection against fire being a thin piece of tin. There are hundreds of these portable tinder boxes in Chinatown, the hot coals smouldering in many of them on the occasion of our visit. The exemption of this city from conflagration on this account is simply amazing·

In an alley on the east side of Dupont street the water-closets are foul, the sewers apparently stopped up, and at every step the filth and slime oozes up through the cracks in the flooring, while the stench of decaying vegetables and human urine is simply and inexpressibly horrible. Rooms some 8x10 feet here also accommodate from 12 to 15 persons. Near by is another alley of intolerable nastiness. The walls of the rooms are thick with dirt, slime, and sickening filth, and the odor from some of the rooms compelled even one of the doctors to cry "enough." In the midst of all this filth Chinamen may be seen manufacturing confectionery, vermicelli, etc., assorting vegetables for family use in the city, cleaning tripe for our restaurants and washing lace for our ladies. The same small rooms in the same over-crowded conditions are found here as elsewhere. Passing through a dark narrow alley on the west side, rooms were discovered not more than 6x6 feet with Chinamen crowded upon shelves with their little glass lamps at their side, and some senseless by use of the drug, smoking opium. Not a ray of sunlight or breath of fresh air can ever penetrate here.

FILTH, CRUELTY AND CRIME.

In another alley, going down stairs, we enter an underground passage, 100 feet long. At intervals of 8 or 10 feet little streams of foul water run out from between the partitions, flow into a gutterway in the center, and empty into an open sewer at the end of the passage. The rooms here are about eight feet square, over-crowded like the rest, and unspeakably filthy.

On Clay street is a room, in the basement of a building, where many poor wretches are suffering from loathsome diseases. The cruelty and inhumanity of the Chinese are without a parallel, and beyond belief. The sick are simply left without sympathy, care, or even notice, to suffer and die.

In a building on Sacramento street a large flight of stairs descends from the sidewalk to the basement, and thence a large hallway reaches to the back of the building, along which are ranged the open foul places before mentioned. On the left of the hallway is a room, 20 x40 feet, 9 feet high, lighted up by camphene lamps. It is the home of the Chinese scavengers and jackals, and is stuffed with their spoils. This room is the boarding and lodging-house of 200 Chinamen—where they eat, sleep, smoke, perform the operations of nature, and into which sunlight or pure air never enter. Its inmates have a ghastly look, and are covered with a clammy perspiration. On the other side the rooms appeared to be filled with sick Chinamen, and ranged around the walls are chicken-coops, filled with what appeared to be sick chickens. In the rear of the hallway is a long brick walk covered with foul water dripping down from closets in the upper stories. At the front is also a large vault, the receptacle of the filth of four stories above. This building is occupied by about 1,000 men. The upper stories are divided into rooms about 10x10, and occupied by fifteen men each. The front rooms are larger, and used for the manufacture of underclothing, ladies' garments, ropes, lariats and cigars. In the room before mentioned, where 200 Chinese scavengers live, the filth from the vaults above, mixed with slops and dead vegetable matter, frequently flows into and overflows their place of repose.

CHINESE COURTESANS.

In other alleys Chinese prostitutes abound, and shamelessly ply their miserable vocation. Women who are not Chinese, we are compelled to add, we find here, beastlier and filthier, if possible, than the Chinese. These lewd women induce boys of all ages to enter, where he who enters is lost. If ever the fearful words could be appropriately inscribed over any entrance, they could be over that of the abandoned women in Chinatown—"Who enters here leaves hope behind" We are adverse to entering the awful precincts of a subject we would gladly avoid, did fidelity to our duty allow it.

In this connection your Committee can do no better than call your attention to the important evidence given before the Special Committee on Chinese Immigration appointed by the State Senate of the session of 1877-78, by Dr. H. H. Toland, at that time and now a member of the Board of Health.

Dr. Toland says: * * * "I have seen boys eight and ten years old with diseases they told me they contracted on Jackson street. It is astonishing how soon they commence indulging in that passion. Some of the worst cases of syphillis I have ever seen in my life occured in children not more than 10 or 12 years old. * * * * * It destroys life. I can show a dozen cases in the County Hospital, where, if they recover, it will be after a long course of treatment, and some of them cannot recover at all. * * * *" Again, he says, speaking of the effect on the community if the Chinese are allowed to remain: "It will fill our hospitals with invalids, and I think it would be a great relief to the younger portion of our community to *get rid of them.*"

DREADFUL DISEASES.

In answer to the question to what extent these diseases come from Chinese prostitutes, he says: "I suppose *nine-tenths*. When these persons come to me, I ask them where they got the disease, and they generally tell me from China women. * * * * I am satisfied that nearly all the boys in town, who have venereal diseases, contracted them in Chinatown. They have no difficulty there, for the prices are so low that they can go whenever they please. The women do not care how old the boys are, whether five years old or more, so long as they have money." Again, he says, "It is my opinion that the maintenance of this population, instead of advancing civilization, is a crime against it."

Dr. J. C. Shorb, a former member of this Board, in testifying before the same Committee, fully corroborated the testimony of Dr. Toland.

D. C. Woods testified that in two years, while Superintendent of the Industrial School, 50 boys came to that institution afflicted with venereal diseases contracted in Chinatown.

George W. Gibbs, at that time Chairman of the Committee on Hospitals, testified as follows: "There are many cases of young men in the Hospital suffering from syphillis contracted in the Chinese quarter."

We could particularize further if we deemed it necessary. The places we have particularly mentioned only illustrate the general condition of Chinatown. To condemn any one of them or all of them as nuisances, and leave neighboring rooms uncondemned, would only still more crowd other places for a while and would aggravate rather than lessen the evil.

We utterly repudiate the idea of being moved by any race, prejudice or class hatred in this matter. The Chinese are living quite as decently and cleanly as any people could do who have to live under similar circumstances. The fault is in conditions, and the conditions are under our control. The Chinese people in our city are living in continual violation of the following ordinances:

First—The Cubic Air law.

REASONS FOR CONDEMNATION.

Second—The following sections of Health Ordinance No. 1,074: Section 16—Removal of persons with contagious diseases. Section 17—Butcher's offal or garbage. Section 18—Dangerous or detrimental pursuits. Section 19—Generating unwholesome odors. Section 22—Sale of unwholesome food prohibited. Section 23—Unwholesome meat defined. Section 28—Market stalls to be kept clean.

Third—The following sections of Health Ordinance No. 1,196: Section 3—To prohibit the maintenance of hospitals within certain limits. Section 4—Privy vaults, drains, etc., to be connected with the street sewer, and traps constructed. Section 5—Privy vaults, construction of. Section 6—Privies, etc., when foul or offensive, a nuisance. Section 20—Part 8—Indecent exposure; Part 9—Lewd or indecent acts; Part 14—Lewd solicitations. Section 33—Houses of ill-fame, gambling-houses.

Fourth—The Fire Ordinance.

In conclusion, your Committee would most cordially accept the vigorous sentiments of one of their number, Dr. J. L. Meares, as expressed in his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1877. Speaking of the sudden and unprecedented nature of the small-pox outbreak at that time, he says:

"I unhesitatingly declare my belief, that this cause is the presence in our midst of 30,000 (as a class) of unscrupulous, lying and treacherous Chinamen, who have disregarded our sanitary laws, concealed and are concealing their cases of small-pox, which are only known to exist by the certificates of their death furnished by the City Physician, unless by accident some living case is discovered. Worse than this, as a rule, their dead bodies are removed to some obscure place from the residence in which they died, so that it is impossible to disinfect their houses, for by no ingenuity can it be discovered whence the dead bodies have been removed.

A DISGRACE TO THE AGE.

* * * That this laboratory of infection—situated in the very heart of our city, distilling its deadly poison by day and by night, and sending it forth to contaminate the atmosphere of the streets and houses of a populous, wealthy and intelligent community—is permitted to exist is a disgrace to the civilization of the age. Alien to our laws,

alien to our religion, alien to our civilization, neither citizens nor desiring to become so, they are a social, moral and political curse to the community.

These words are not hastily or thoughtlessly written, but express the deliberate and well-considered opinion of one who, as your Health Officer, has had opportunities of observation afforded to no other individual of witnessing the destruction of life, the ruin of families; children made orphans, fathers and mothers rendered childless; young men stricken down in the bloom of their youth and vigor; all by the willful and diabolical disregard of our sanitary laws by this infamous race. That this people, as a class, should so pertinaciously and willfully disregard our sanitary laws, so criminally neglect to report their cases of small-pox to the authorities, so maliciously pursue that course of conduct which they know is bringing distress upon our city, by destroying the lives of our citizens, and seriously impairing the business of our whole community, can only be accounted for on the supposition that they are enemies of our race and people, and in their wickedness rejoice in our distress and sorrow. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. This adage is true, whether applied to the highest civilization or the lowest of the brute creation. This people ought to know that there is a point beyond which patience ceases to be a virtue."

It is the opinion of your Committee that this time has come. The Chinese cancer must be cut out of the heart of our city, root and branch, if we have any regard for its future sanitary welfare. It will be a mercy to the Chinese themselves, as well as to our people, to compel them to live in healthier conditions. We wish them no harm, and would inflict on them no hardships; but with all the vacant and healthy territory around this city it is a shame that the very centre be surrendered and abandoned to this health-defying and law-defying population.

We, therefore, recommend that the portion of the city here described be condemned as a *nuisance;* and we call upon the proper authorities to take the necessary steps for its abatement without delay.

I. S. KALLOCH,
H. J. GIBBONS, Jr.,
J. L. MEARES.

The report was unanimously adopted, and on motion Chinatown was declared a nuisance.

MAYOR KALLOCH'S ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Before proceeding to the serious work of the evening, and introductory to it, I want to clear a little rubbish out of the way.

Tho Superintendent of Streets is a good deal exercised on his part, and the Board of Supervisors on theirs, because I have been reported as turning the unemployed laborers over to their tender mercies. Mr. Patterson takes objection to my declaration that it is within the power of the Street Department to relieve the popular discontent by giving labor to the needy.

I did say that, and was correctly but not fully reported, for I said more, the purport of which I should think might be level to the comprehension even of a San Francisco Supervisor. What I said was: "I am in favor of abolishing the street-sweeping machines and the contract system of labor. I am in favor of cleaning our dirty streets, constructing a decent system of sewerage, filling up our offensive sloughs—including Lake Merced—[laughter] and if the Street Department could be conducted on this basis, it would be within its power to relieve all the distress and discontent of the city." [Applause.] And so I thought I was acting within due bounds and transgressing no rules of official courtesy in telling them to "go to the Supervisors." I naturally thought that a Board which had exhibited such remarkable energy and agility in behalf of Mr. Mahoney might take a little interest in the welfare of some of Mr. Mahoney's countrymen. I knew that they would be free from the ordinary intrusions and annoyances to which the rest of us are subject in projecting measures of relief, for they have the happy faculty of withdrawing from the "gaze of other men" into those hallowed and hidden precincts where the profane feet of the reporter are never permitted to enter. By such a secret process, and without any fear of public opinion before their eyes, they are enabled to perfect their little jobs to a nicety, and it is a mere matter of form to put them through the Board. I supposed they would hail with delight a chance to apply their efficient and noiseless machinery to the relief of the people. But my suggestions have had an entirely different effect from what I anticipated. They have turned the attention of the Board, not to the people, but to me. [Laughter and applause.] Retiring to their secret chambers, and closing their doors about them, they have been delivered of a document which will stand as a monument to their memory, when Mahoney has been gathered to his fathers and Merced has siped back to the sea. The flattering and friendly terms in which it speaks of me affect my heart. [Laughter.] I had no idea of being so handsomely treated by the Supervisors so soon. I am sorry they could not do anything for the needy laborers; but my sorrow is greatly compensated by what they have done for me. [Laughter and applause.] On my first public meeting with them, I asked, as a personal favor, that they adjourn for a day, after having listened to the parting words of my predecessor and my own inaugural address. It was a reasonable request; it was a customary course of proceeding; but it was not even honored with a notice. But while I made the request, as a personal one, the real object of it was to save them from a disgrace into which I saw they were about to plunge, and from which I would gladly have saved them. When, before the proceedings were over, Mr. Litchfield denounced the Board as a "Ring," I did not hear anybody deny the accusation [applause], and, in fact, I have never heard it denied since. When I wanted a messenger in my office of my own choosing, it took a good deal more time and labor, though not more money, than it did to get through a fifteen hundred thousand dollar swindle on the city, [Great applause.] In my absence and inability to answer, this courteous Board allowed one of its members to charge me with falsehood, without remonstrance or reply. Now, after such a state of things, imagine my emotions of surprise and joy on reading their report on the labor problem last Monday evening. As I said, they avoid the labor question almost entirely, in their eager desire to repair their past treatment of me, and to undo any injury they may have inflicted upon me. [Laughter.] They admit my "consistency in ably seconding all efforts to alleviate the condition of the unemployed." They refer to my "well-known character and position as an eloquent preacher and divine." They speak of me—I almost blush to repeat it—as "our influential and talented Chief Magistrate." [Laughter and applause.] They are impressed with, and compelled to admit, the "learning, culture and personal magnetism of their presiding officer," and they consider "the fact demonstrated that he possesses, and will use, more power and influence in the position he occupies than any of the prior incumbents of that high and honorable office." This would certainly be loud praise, even if emanating from a friendly source. I do not remember to have received any such hearty commendation from any Workingmen's Club in the city [laughter and applause], and to receive it from a politically hostile Board of Supervisors, and from such a Board of Supervisors! Well, it is what I expected to compel them to say some time [laughter], but not so soon in the struggle. It is the most wonderful conversion on record since that of Saul of Tarsus! There is hope for the Supervisors yet! The charge of falsehood made by the Supervisor referred to was repeated by Mr. Pixley in his paper, who suggested that on my arrival home it would be in order for me to rise to a question of privilege, to prove whether I am a liar or not. This seems to be a favorite charge with Pixley. He says I "lied" in my speech on the sand lot last week. Now, I don't blame him for foaming and fretting like a mad dog at the sight of water whenever the sand lot is mentioned. But I question his right—and especially his consistency—in bandying about this "lying" business so freely. By what authority does he bring this railing accusation against me? Who has appointed him censor of the truth-telling propensities, or otherwise, of his neighbors? Has he borne such a reputation for veracity, generosity, modesty, and all the graces, that he can straddle his little tripod and

> "Deal damnation round the land
> On each he deemed his foe?"

Mr. George C. Gorham is a menber in good standing of the Republican National Committee. If I am mtstaken in this particular, Pixley can inform me. [Laughter.] I don't want to be accused of "lying" about it. He is also the Washington correspondent of the San Francisco *Chronicle,* a paper conducted by Mr. Chas. De Young, for whose wounded sensibilities on a certain occasion I remember Mr. Pixley expressed considerable sympathy, and I heard Mr. Gorham say, before an assembly of thousands in this hall, that "F. M. Pixley is a liar and a perjurer, behind whom stalks the turnkey and before whom yawns the penitentiary." [Great applause.] I do not know whether this is so or not. But it was a terrible charge, made with terrible publicity and effect, and I did not notice that Pixley manifested any remarkably agility in rising to a question of privilege to explain whether it was true or not. [Laughter.] I was told at the time that he got off a few "glittering generalities" about in a sickly sheet called the *Argonaut.* But this is a paper that nobody reads but snobs, and they can't understand it. [Laughter.] The great, glaring, gigantic accusation, as made before the people, remains unanswered before them to this day; and I respectfully submit that Mr. Pixley clear up his own reputation in this particular a little before giving himself so much concern about mine. [Applause.] The charge has been freely bandied about, through these and kindred sources, that I have encouraged the people to deeds of violence and lawlessness. The people know better. They know how far this is from the truth. But they have an object in this style of lying, and I will tell you what it is: "The wish is father to the thought." They want you to commit violence. [Applause.] They want you to perpetrate an overt act. They want to provoke you to it, and provoke me to provoke you. But they have mistaken their man. They are barking up the wrong tree. How it would delight their hearts to have you start a row, so that the police and the military and the "club brigade" could be called out to put you down. The fools don't stop to think that it might not be so easy a job to put you down. [Applause.] But you won't gratify them with an opportunity yet. I know you well enough to know that you know your business and how to do it. You will not give them the slightest opportunity to impeach the orderly and dignified manner in which you have so far conducted yourselves in your righteous demand for work. [Applause.] But now that so much has been said on this point, and that so many are thinking upon it, I deem it wise to treat it in no mealy-mouthed manner, but to get to the bottom of it. [Applause.]

The Old World instructs us that the war of classes is the destruction of States. If they have survived the peril, it has been at the price of social convulsions and agonies that humanity shudders to remember. We laid in this New World, as we fondly trusted, the foundation of society in safer and more enduring elements. But it is now evident that the same evil agencies that have wrought such destruction elsewhere are rife among us. And the questions that stir the sediments of our society are not in the hands of English operatives, Irish tenants, muzzled Frenchmen or Russian serfs, but American freemen, who may talk on the platform, parade through the streets, print through the press, and vote at the polls. [Applause.] So that the conditions of the conflict differ from any other. And the problem before us is, whether we shall perish in Patrician or Plebeian wars, or be saved by passing through the fires of a French Revolution, or escape such a fate of horror by addressing ourselves, every one of us, to the consideration and settlement of these difficulties before it shall be too late. [Applause] Is there no other way than to go on intensifying and aggravating the social irregularities that breed social distempers and disasters? Are there no means of checking the crystalization of society into the antagonistic forms of extreme wealth and extreme poverty? Have all religious revivals, intellectual achievements, political revolutions and scientific discourses that make up our civilization brought us no further along the track of progress than to the vestibule of the same weary strikes and strifes that have stained the centuries with blood?

To make the question local and practical—for this is the way to feel it—is this fairest portion of all our fair domain to be given up to lordly monopolists on the one hand, and a foreign, degraded, unassimilating horde of barbarians on the other. [Cries of No, No.] Or is it to be a land as rich in the growth of men, as genial in its influence upon labor, and as grand in the onward march of its working classes, as it is rich, and grand, and genial in soil, and sun, and clime? [Great applause.]

There is distress and want in the city. If it were not so, there would be an end of the controversy. If our laboring classes have work enough to do, are paid well enough for it, and are not overworked when they are worked, then capital and its friends have nothing else to do than to stamp out its insurrections and suppress its turbulencies with the iron heel of power. But I have affecting reasons to known that such is not the case; and, as I said the other day, there is not a married man in the city who could stand in my place a day without having his heart opened—if he has a heart instead of a gizzard, as too many of them have—for God Almighty has been said to show his idea of money by the kind of men he gives it to. [Applause.] What mean these long and continuous cries for work? What means this weary tramping through your streets? What has emboldened these plain and unlettered men to knock at the iron doors of the wealthy and powerful, and make known their needs in no uncertain tones? Is there nothing in such a demonstration that challenges attention? Is there nothing that calls for relief? To what a fearful future do such portentous indications inevitably tend? If this is done in a green tree what will be done in a dry? If such exhibitions as we have witnessed are without effect—scorned by Capital—sneered at by Supervisors—what is there in store for us and our children? If the methods under which men are driven mad are still madly pursued, what unforeseen convulsions may be generated for the time to come? Terrible possibilities. It will be idle to argue then, as I am happy to be able to do now [applause] upon the folly and foolishness of disorder, when offensive buildings are burned or blown up, when trains are wrecked, depots destroyed and tracks torn up. The authors of the mischief suppose that the owners are the principal sufferers. Never was there a more foolish mistake. They have only made a ready sale of the property. The public must pay the bills—and the laboring classes themselves must pay the most of them. [Applause and cries of "That's so."] New York City has had to pay for every dollar's worth of property destroyed or stolen by the rioters of 1863, and the rioting classes have had to pay their share. They danced, but they "have had to pay the fiddler." Wealthy men and corporations are assessed, as a rule, on only a small portion of the real value of their property. But the owners of small farms or a few head of stock, or a little homestead, or a small corner grocery, are assessed up to the full value of their property, and the more they are assessed, the more laborers must pay for the necessaries of life. Every loaf of bread they eat, every pair of shoes they wear, every article they or their families consume, is loaded with an additional price to help to pay the taxes made necessary by every riotous demonstration. The total loss by the Pittsburg riot was $4,500,000. The assessed valuation of the city is $172,000,000, with a population of 140,000. The amount necessary to pay the damages is equivalent to a fine of $32.15 upon every man, woman and child in the city. The lesson of this is that laboring men, when they feel themselves wronged, should make persistent but peaceable appeals for redress. There is, as a rule, no sense in strikes. There is no reason in riots. There is no weal in war. [Applause.] When men, in order to rid themselves of some political or social grievance, become evildoers themselves, they retard the cause they love, and roll back the great tidal force which is slowly but surely lifting the masses of humanity upward. [Applause.]

Violent convulsions and forcible revolutions have their place, and so has the earthquake and the tempest. But they are not to be encouraged on this account. They tend to insubordination, licentiousness, arson, robbery and murder. The glamor they kindle lights the despoiler to his victim, the burglar to his plunder, the assassin to his deeds of blood. Only lawless and abandoned men can love such a scene—men whose element is contention, whose ardor is confusion, and whose life is consternation. [Applause.] It is an easy thing to tear down; it is a hard thing to build up. A gang of rowdies may demolish in an hour what it cost the wisdom and the wealth of ages to construct. Any vagabond may light the flame of insurrection, and burn, pillage, ravage, and destroy; but after he has abolished every custom and destroyed every institution, the work of reconstruction and restoration will be one of long years and patient toil. [Applause.] But the peoples say: "Our appeals are unheeded; our wrongs are unredressed; our demands for work unanswered; what shall we do?" Which leads me to speak of our duty to the laborers. Professional men, business men, preachers, editors, merchants, clerks—all men, who do not labor with their hands, should learn and feel and show that all their interests and sympathies—all their hopes and fears—all their peace and prosperity are indissolubly bound up with the fate of the laboring classes. [Great applause.] We must hear them when they speak. We must help them when they cry, or we are lost with them In the old ages, or in other countries, the interests of what may be termed the middle classes may be with us what is termed the upper classes. For there is little else than one aristocracy of land and learning and blood on the one hand, and a commonalty of ignorance and serfdom and dependence on the other. But it is not so here; our laboring classes are men who read—men who own, or mean to own, their homes; men who aspire, men who educate their children, and men whose children will rule the world long after the puny and pampered sons of luxury are forgotten. [Applause.] Your place and mine is side by side with these men. Their interests and ours are one. Let Supervisors get into their star-chambers and make merry over their miseries, for " 'tis there nature to;" but sensible men, who are not Supervisors, should remember that their interests are identical with those of the men who work, and who demand work. Their wrongs and sorrows are ours, and we must feel them as our own. It is only for the pulpit and the press—that should be the true educators and emancipators of the race—to compel capital to deal fairly with labor, and labor would never start a strike or inaugurate a riot. [Applause.] And what do I mean by capital dealing fairly with labor? Nothing Utopian. I am no agrarian. I suppose some men will always be rich. I suppose some men will always be poor, and I suppose I shall always be one of the latter number. [Laughter.] And I suppose there will always be unreasonable laboring men—men who would want more pay, however much they had, and shorter hours however few they worked; such men can never be pleased or placated; but such men do not represent the average American laborer.

What I mean is this—and this I want to emphasize: Capital must encourage and elevate labor in this country. It must have some idea superior to that of merely getting the cheapest labor. In the old conflict, and under other forms of government, it might try the dangerous experiment, but it will not work here. [Applause.] And the sooner capital learns this the better, the safer it will be. Labor must be dignified, not degraded. Here is the vital evil of Chinese cheap labor. It is not so much that it cheapens labor; it degrades it; it humiliates the men and women, without whose elevation and good will this splendid experiment of government will prove a splendid failure. Admit all that is claimed for the docility, the teachableness, of the faithfulness of Chinese labor. After you get all you want of it, after you have driven out all other labor, as, if unmolested, it certainly will—not only here, but all over the land—what do you propose to do with your American laborers? [Applause.] What do you suppose they will be doing all this time? To ask the question is to answer it. It opens up a future too horrible for contemplation. I have said that I would state the whole case as it is, without fear or favor; and so, after having called your attention to arguments, the soundness of which you must admit, I am free to add that there is trouble ahead of us if these conditions are not heeded. But it will not be the fault of the laboring classes. [Great applause.] And this is a point I am bound to establish. If men of capital and resources in this city continue to show such criminal indifference, as many of them have, to the sufferings of the people—if corporations and large firms continue to take the bread from their children's mouths, and give it to Chinese dogs—if editors continue to be patronized who will shoot down their antagonists in open day, in the very center of your city, because they have been unable to morally assassinate them—if preachers continue to be supported who are not ashamed to advocate the unrestricted invasion of Chinese lepers, all for the glory of God—if, in fine, it becomes apparent that there is no hope for American labor only by its degradation to Chinese prices, Chinese customs and Chinese living—then there will be trouble; then will be conflagrations; then will be bloodshed; and when that day comes, the De Youngs and Pixleys—all murderers and all slanderers—will want to take out good accident insurance policies. [Great applause.] Now, I am quite prepared to have reporters, editors and Associated Press purveyors take what I have just said, out of its connection, and to have the pleasure of reading, over my coffee, in the morning, all the way from the "well-informed New York dailies," how Kalloch is still threatening "fire and slaughter," and that he is already "marking victims for the fury of the mob." I understand that very well, and, so far as I am concerned, I don't care a snap about it. [Applause.] I am responsible for what I say, and not for what I do not say. I say, and I will say it a hundred times more, if necessary, that there will be trouble and bloodshed over the Chinese question unless the most vigorous measures are taken to prevent it—measures that cannot succeed without the sympathy and assistance of corporations that have power, and citizens that have capital. [Applause.] Now, am I become your enemy because I tell you the truth? [Cries of "No! No!"] You all know—everybody knows that knows anything—that I have said nothing but the simple truth. The only question is, whether it is prudent for one in my position to say it. I have deliberated that point carefully, and my judgment is, that it is best to talk this thing over just as it is, to deal frankly and squarely with the people, and to charge the responsibility of trouble just where it belongs. Parties and papers who want a fuss, and are trying to goad the people on to have one, may continue to represent me as a "mischief-maker" and "fomenter of strife." They may misrepresent my remarks to-night, or draw strained or unnatural inferences, as they did the other day; but there is this compensation which I have, and am sure of, and that is, that the people, "whose I am, and whom I serve," don't believe a word they say. [Applause.]

They know better. They know that I stand between our traducers and the wrath of an insulted and outraged people. If Pixley had abused and vilified Germans and Irish and Jews in any other city as he has in this, he would have long ago been riding a rail instead of a mule. [Great laughter and applause.] He has done all he could to make things worse. It is not his fault that there has not been a revolution before this. He has exhausted the dialect of Billingsgate to excite the animosities of men already crushed to the earth by poverty and want. It is to such men you may lay your disaster if disaster comes. [Applause.] How stands Charles De Young as a keeper of the peace? He has one by one assaulted in the most indecent and aggravating manner every man put forth by the Workingmen to advocate their cause, and when you had united on me as your standard bearer we had every reasonable assurance of a complete and peaceable victory. He jeopardized the lives, the peace, and the prosperity of the city by a cowardly and infamous attempt to assasinate me, and when I had no strength to say anything else I whispered to the sand lot, "Keep the peace," and God bless your noble hearts, you nobly kept it! [Tremendous applause.] Now, who is the peacemaker, and who the peace-breaker? Who trampled the law under foot? who openly defies it to-day? I tell you fellow-citizens, if our worst fears are ever realized, if blood ever flows down our street, and Chinese slavery has to go out in a holocaust of fire it will be the work of your murderous De Youngs and viperous Pixleys, with law-defying monopolists and cowardly capitalists accessories before the act. [Applause.] Pixley expressed his significant regret in his paper a little while ago that De Young and I did not "meet." What does he want us to "meet" for? Does he want the assasin to have another chance to perfect his bungling job? I advise Mr. Pixley, as well as De Young, not to be too anxious for such a meeting. [Applause.] I warn them that another such an attempt will be followed by a retribution whose horrors it may not be wise to anticipate. I warn those men, that if they want the peace kept they must keep it themselves. [Applause.] I warn capitalists who tremble in their shoes at the sound of a laborers' procession, that they need have no fear of these laborers if they will treat them as they deserve and call off their dogs! [Applause.]

Do they think it is a peaceful policy to sustain and shield Chas. De Young? Do they think that this is in the line of the protection of their property? Do they remember how he endangered it once? Do they know, or do they not, that any man who subscribes for, or advertises in, or circulates his blackmailing paper, is aiding him to try the experiment again? Mr. De Young is at the present time apparently a gentleman at leisure, instead of a candidate for San Quentin, travelling through the country to see if I did something when I was a boy to justify him in shooting me; and a portion of the San Francisco public gathers eagerly around his moral slaughter-house every morning to see if they can smell the grateful perfumes of fresh human sacrifice! Well, perhaps the people who thus sustain him in his murderous designs are wise; perhaps they are looking out for the best interests of the city; perhaps it is prudent to thus furnish him the means and moral encouragement to re-open his scandal sewers on me. We shall see. I speak as unto wise men. Judge ye what I say. But I give notice here and now, once for all, and to all whom it concerns, that if, after having once emptied the contents of their infamous stink-pot on my head—after having desecrated my sainted father's grave, and dishonored his unstained memory; and after having shot me down like a dog, from an ambush into which he had decoyed me by a lie—if he expects me to quietly allow the thing to be attempted again, all I have to say is, that he and some of his cowardly aiders and abettors will wake up some fine morning in this world, or some other, to find out their mistake. [Great applause.]

Do not accuse me of bringing a personal matter into this public discussion. This is not a personal matter. It pertains to every other citizen as much as it does to me. It has more to do with the peace and safety of your city, with the quiet and protection of its homes, than it has with any personal feelings of my own. I am a law-abiding citizen. I have not broken any laws; I do not desire to. But, in the sacred name of Liberty, I invoke the penalty of the law on any man who violates it as infamously as Chas. De Young did. Not for my sake, but for the honor of insulted law, and the peace of our endangered city. And I shall not cease to call for justice until I get it. [Applause] And not until a time comes—which I do not anticipate—when the Courts of my country refuse me their protection, will it be time for me to remind them that there is room on the Sand Lots for a gallows as high as Haman's. [Applause.] The Chinese must go, "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." The Asiatic invasion must be stopped; and if trouble comes in consequence of this determination, it will not come as our opponents desire or plan. We should hardly allow them to select the grounds and weapons too, as they are now trying to do. If they could only get a squad of you to fire a Chinese wash-house, or perpetrate some indignity on a Chinaman; if they could only get some everlasting barn-burning fool to set fire to a railroad building, or a railroad magnate's mansion, they would have you just where they want you. Then they would say: "See what destructionists and revolutionists Workingmen are." Then they would warn conservative men from ever voting for any of us again, as so many did the last election, and they would do it with some reason and some result. I take it for granted that you will not gratify them. A revolutionary measure is a last resort. Every other method must first be tried; every other means must first be exhausted. But when this has been done, and done in vain, and the people are all united and all aroused in a holy cause,

"Like lions out of slumber,
In unvanquishable numbers,"

where is the wrong or the wrongdoer that can stand before them? Such a people, in such a spirit and such a cause, I should be proud to lead. [Great applause.] You will all find out some time, whether anybody else is fooling or not, that *I* mean business when I say the "Chinese must go." [Applause.] But we must bide the time; we must keep level heads on our shoulders. Reckless or revolutionary spirits, who would precipitate events by acts of lawlessness, must be put down by all the force of power. [Applause.] We have undertaken a great work. We have to revolutionize the labor movement of a State. We have to uproot a fortified system of slavery. We have to overcome the prejudice of piety and the criticisms of cant. We have to resist the sentimentalism and become indifferent to the anathemas of the East. We have to fight the accursed spirit of corporate greed and indivfdual selfishness. We have to beat back the barbaric hordes of paganism. Such a work cannot be done in a day. In its prosecution we must welcome help from all parties and affiliate with those that will help us most. We must disseminate intelligence. We must agitate, and move and march, and cry aloud and spare not, but we must crush out and stamp down the first indication of lawlessness and violence as the worst possible thing for us and the best thing for our enemies. The workingmen have given the best evidence in the most trying times, and under the greatest provocation, that they are law-abiding and peace-preserving men. They have been lied about, slandered about, caricatured, denounced. They have been robbed of work or the chance to get it, and then goaded with being "idlers, vagrants, tramps, houseless and homeless vagabonds," and still they have kept their temper and preserved the peace. And they will keep it if you do your duty by them. And I am not without hope that we may yet realize in this fair heritage of God's what was only a poet's dream, wherein his lay of Horatius he sang:

"Then none was for a party,
Then all were for the State.
Then the rich man helped the poor man.
And the poor man loved the great;
Then lands were fairly portioned
And spoils were fairly sold.
The Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old."

The action of the Board of Health. I suppose you have heard about the action to-day of the Board of Health. The San Francisco Board of Health is composed of five gentlemen—present company, perhaps, excepted—certainly of four of the most conservative and reputable physicians of the city. The Board to-day, after several weeks of earnest and serious consideration, has unanimously declared Chinatown a nuisance. I believe there is only one thing more I will detain you to say to you to-night. I have been as busy as I could be trying to open up some large avenues of labor for your employment. I hoped to be able to report to you, but I will not falsely encourage you to-night. Our friends in this city, and in Sacramento also, are at work, and soon, very soon, the distress will be relieved.

The speaker said that he had been to see Governor Stanford, and assured him that the workingmen were not opposed to the corporations *per se*, but only in so far as they employed Chinese labor to the exclusion of white labor; that the Governor had received him most courteously; and had promised to try and have the Railroad Campany arrange matters to immediately employ 200 or 300 men. The applause which had frequently interrupted the speaker broke out in a storm.

MEMORIAL ON CHINATOWN

By an Investigating Committee of the Anti-Chinese Council, W. P. C.

To His Honor the Mayor and the Honorable Board of Health of the City and County of San Francisco, Cal.:

Gentlemen:—Within the limits, within the very heart of the city of San Francisco, bounded on the east and west by Kearny and Stockton streets and on the north and south by California street and Broadway, lives a people entirely differing and distinct in custom as well as in manners from the people of this city and State, and the United States, and in such large numbers that, if properly distributed, in accordance with the Cubic Air Ordinance and with the customs and habits of a civilized community, would fill an area as large as the city of Oakland. This alien people, on which our civilization left no impression, who have never changed the habits of their own native soil, though twenty years have passed since their arrival here, belong to the Mongolian race. They are, and have stayed through all this time, contrary to the laws of the United States: practicing slavery, remaining unmarried: obeying the edicts of a foreign potentate, the Emperor of China, etc., and thus menacing the institutions of this free Republic. These Chinese live in the very heart of the city of San Francisco as a distinct colony, violating all laws of hygiene and defying all fire and police ordinances. In their quarters all civilization of the white race ceases, and a locality is created where *lawlessness*, and consequent to it, bribery and corruption, is bred and disseminated through our commonwealth to such an extent that not only the physical condition of our race is endangered, but also the morals of our present and rising generation are corrupted.

Through actual observation (the subscribed committee having inspected Chinatown for the last six weeks), we find there places where thieves and highbinders are sheltered from the law, and tramps and vagabonds are educated. We find there a locality, which, through cheapness by overcrowded habitation, throws a healthy competition of labor out of the question. There we behold dens of iniquity and filth, houses of prostitution of the vilest sort, opium dens, gambling houses, which destroy the very morals, the manhood and the health of our people. There it is from whence leprosy, this inherent factor, this inbred disease of Chinese, is infused into our healthy race by the using, the sucking of opium-pipes, which have been handled by those already afflicted. From thence, from houses of prostitution, grows and steadily infuses itself slowly but surely an incurable and hereditary curse, ultimately destroying whole nations through the instrumentality of Chinese prostitutes, who, in diseasing our young men, implant into them the germs of leprosy and other loathsome, constitutional and hereditary disorders, which will be handed down, through our present and past laxity concerning the enforcement of hygienic laws, to our children and children's children. These diseases are, as yet, foreign to the American people. Furthermore, we have discovered there manufactories of various kinds—of cigars, clothing, etc., even of articles of food, carried on in the filthiest holes imaginable—exposed in such dens to the impregnation of germs of diseases which must be detrimental to the health of the consumer or wearer. Sturdy as the physical condition of the white race is, it must at last succumb to the onslaught of such an evil. For instance, a cigar manufactory is carried on in Ellick alley, in close proximity to a Chinese Hospital, where a case of leprosy and a case of lupus excaedens await dissolution. The surface of a cigar, its filling and cover expose a double surface several feet in length and width, if unrolled and spread out. Upon this large area of raw material, in such dens of filth and disease, in this terrible stench, infectious germs are deposited, which propagate infectious and contagious disorders through inhalation and handling. The "germ" theory of disease is now an acknowledged fact in the science of medicine. The microscope reveals even to the eye a great many of the fungi causing disorders. This theory teaches us that material like cloth, tobacco, food, etc., if exposed to an atmosphere charged with those germs, is infected by them, and thus detrimental to the health of the wearer or consumer of such merchandise. The dangerous result of such evil, we hold, is practically proven by the ravages of diseases like diphtheria, etc., in this city, irrespective of time, season or places. The physician who tries to trace the source of infection of diphtheria in his patients is mostly always unable to do so, and we believe that the existing evils in Chinatown are the proper source. The propagation of these germs of disease and the introduction of them into the fold of private families is, besides this infection through merchandise, greatly assisted through the Chinese wash-houses and Chinese servants of such private families. These Chinese laundrymen and servants have the pernicious habit of visiting almost daily Chinatown, either to partake of the hospitality of their friends, or to buy merchandise, or to revel in the luxury of opium-smoking. Some even sleep in Chinatown, in these filthy holes, every night. Through these means a perfect network of contagion and infection is created, a veritable octopus of disease, having its seat in Chinatown, and its infectious arms thrust into every house of the city, is in existence, which fact must strike a perfect horror to every medical man.

A physician's most sacred duty is to prevent disease. Secondary to this only is to try to cure it. In our perambulations through Chinatown we found, a few feet from Kearny street, on Sacramento, a large colony of Chinese thronged together in the smallest possible compass, smoking opium, cooking at open fires, living in filth and stench and smoke, the floors reeking with slime and filth, water dripping down the wall, whose source (unknown to us) could only be detected by the smell—in short, a veritable stink hole, which gives off and alone breeds disease, enough to endanger the health of the city. This would be an excellent feeding place for any epidemic which might become prevalent in our city. Were it not for the beneficence of Nature providing these severe storms which sweep over the city almost daily, the people could not exist with such a cancer in its very heart. This is a criminal neglect on the part of the proper authorities, to allow such a pest-hole to exist immediately behind the principal stores of Kearny street. Again, there are a number of hospitals in the Chinese quarters in direct violation of all sanitary laws and city ordinances, viz., a hospital on Ellick alley; another on Clay street, between Kearny and Dupont streets; a third hospital on Varennes street, off Union, with Joss-house attached, where the sick are placed to die. This last place is a hole of filth, stench and smoke, in a rickety condition, and unfit for habitation. Several times parties living in its immediate neighborhood have filed complaints against its existence there, but with no avail.

Sickness among children, especially diphtheria and other low typhoid disorders, have appeared and ravaged there ever since the establishment of said hospital—a fact to which parties in the vicinity will testify. Telegraph Hill ought to be one of the healthiest portions of our city; but since the above-named evil exists there its former healthy condition has changed. This same hospital is in close proximity to two of our schools, where the germs of the disease and the utter depravity of the occupants of said hospital endanger the health of the school children, and at the same time destroy the morals of the rising generation. The criminal neglect on the part of the city authorities to not remove said nuisance is hardly pardonable—the complaints have never been listened to.

Another hospital and bone-house is in an alley off Montgomery avenue, near Broadway street, where the remnants of more than 2,000 Chinamen (bones) are stored in satchels. These satchels are there packed in boxes, and thus shipped to China, which practice is in direct violation of our city ordinances. Duncombe alley, off Jackson street, is another place where the most indescribable stink, filth, garbage, etc., exists. Manufactories are carried on there in full blast, as cigars, clothing, etc., and a kitchen thus ventilated and scented regales the hungry stomachs of the Chinamen. Immediately above this alley—entrance through a wood-yard—and above this one, on Mrs. Sheppard's property, near Stockton, is filth in piles everywhere, Chinese living there by the dozen in small, dingy cellars and rooms. Cigars, etc., are manufactured there. Opposite, on the south side of the street, the very paradise of Chinese customs is to be seen, for it reeks in filth and stench.

The same exists adjoining 741 Pacific street, next to a wood-yard. In short, we have in the midst of the city a portion of the Empire of China living in open violation of the laws of our State and city, where all laws of hygiene are, as it is seen, successfully defied. Through forbearance, a state of affairs has developed itself there during these last twenty years, which is a shame upon a civilized community. No cleansing or disinfecting can remedy this evil. The reeking fifth has sapped through the walls of brick, and permeated wood and stonework. A radical cure alone can do justice to the citizens of San Francisco. The police officers on their beats in Chinatown receive bribes as hush money, so that they shall not disturb their (the Chinese) mode of living. This assertion is proven by the individual wealth of the police officers there on the one side, and the open violation of the law on the part of the Chinese on the other. The special policemen especially should be charged with the above, because they serve only to be subservient to the Chinese, and to guard them against arrest. We pray, therefore, your Honorable Board, as citizens of these United States, as inhabitants of the State of California, and voters and taxpayers of the city and county of San Francisco, to take into consideration the above described existing evil, and to remedy the same as follows:

First—To have Chinatown condemned as a nuisance, because its filth and stench and open lawlessness detroy the health and morals of the people of this city.

Second—To have the Chinese quartered outside of the city in decent quarters, wherever your Honorable Board may designate, or where the Chinese desire to build and purchase homes.

Third—Whereas the American people are as yet free from such a terrible disease as leprosy—a disease inherent with the Chinese race; and whereas, in accordance with all medical science, constitutional and hereditary or inherent disorders, such as leprosy, lupus, syphilis, etc., are related to and intermingle with each other, so that a contamination with syphilis also carries in its train an inoculation of leprosy or lupus; and whereas, through necessity, on account of the close intercourse existing between the American race and Chinese, the infusion of said incurable and hereditary diseases must follow, and result in the deterioration of our healthy American race; therefore,

We pray—basing also our prayers upon the provisions of the New Constitution, now in force, viz., Article XI., Section 11, to wit; "Any county, city, or town, or township may make and enforce within its limits, all such local, police, sanitary or other regulations as are not in conflict with the general laws"—to have all intercourse cease between Chinese and Americans and vice versa, for sanitary reasons only; and to make it a misdemeanor for any person or citizen to have any business or other relations with the Chinese, for reasons aforesaid. Very respectfully,

GEO. A. REICH, M.D.,
D. McMILLAN, M.D.,
JOHN BARTON,
A. VANINA,
JOHN SHIELDS, *Committee.*

By order of the Anti-Chinese Council.

T. ALLEN, *President.* W. I. CLARK, *Secretary.*

Nearly every house in this so-called Chinatown ought to be included, but time and space prevent us from doing so.

Actual observation, taken almost daily, during the last six weeks, convinced us of this state of affairs.

If need to be, the Committee are willing to swear to this report before a Notary Public and be punished accordingly if impure motives and not the truth has actuated them.

Itemized Report of Nuisances

IN CHINATOWN.

614, 712, 714 Dupont Street.—Immediately behind the Cathedral is a house of terrible filth, stink and slime; the urine having percolated through the excrement is all over the floor of the hall-way. Wooden structures are built out into the court-room from the building proper (a feature which can be found all over Chinatown). Open fires are there on every floor. The building is crowded with Chinamen, who smoke opium and live in an atmosphere surcharged with stench and smoke.

Mansion-House Place.—Terrible filth and stink; garbage; piles of dirt; old wooden rickety structures, etc., at the end of which is a wood-yard. Dangerous, also, on account of fires, because open fires are there in full blast, which are built in coal-oil cans. Water-closets everywhere.

Ross Street, off Washington, between Stockton and Dupont.—The same condition exists there.

Sullivan Alley.—Houses of prostitution; prostitutes soliciting there, some not over 10 or 12 years old; these latter call for a higher price—$1.00 or $1.50, while the older ones rate at 50 cents. These women are slaves, and are sold to the proprietors of such dens at from $100 to $500. This is contrary to the laws, but whenever women land here from China, some Chinamen are sent to the steamer from the six Chinese Companies to claim these women as their wives, and so elude the laws. These women are then taken to Chinatown; the best looking and youngest are there turned over to the richer merchants for their personal pleasure, while the others are immediately sold to the highest bidder. The better looking ones, after having filled the desires of said merchants, are then also sold to the highest bidder, for purposes of prostitution. This latter fact can be substantiated through a former member of this Committee.

An Alley—Jones' Alley (see below), intersecting Sullivan Alley, ending in a laundry establishment.—Here are houses of prostitution; filth and dirt. Through the centre of alley runs a small stream of water or urine, which ever it may be. The laundry establishment is the filthiest hole imaginable; piles of dirt, filth mixed with excrements of the human body lay about. The structure itself is of wood and about three feet from the ground. All the water used in this wash-house is allowed to escape underneath, and, together with the filth, is in a fearful condition.

An Alley—(Baker's Alley, see below) without name, running up to Sullivan Alley from Dupont street. Houses of prostitution; filthy and unhealthy; garbage laying around.

Alleck Alley, off Pacific street, near Stockton. Chinese Hospital; filth. The city ordinances and sanitary regulations are there defied.

St. Louis Alley—In some of the houses on this alley a fearful state exists; Chinese living in great numbers in dingy and filthy holes; wooden structures annexed to the buildings proper; apparently built afterwards, so as to give more room and to increase the capacity of holding their overcrowded population. Open fires are throughout conducted, which blackens the wood and covers it with soot; slime and filth everywhere; human excrement scattered all over the water closets and ground floor.

Church Alley, above the Chinese Theatre on Washington street, near Stockton. This alley ends in a court-yard, where manufactories of clothing etc., are carried on. Here are piles of dirt and filth. In the left hand corner a sewer pipe stops. The pipe from the water closet seems broken, because stinking; watery material oozes out and makes the ground slimy and stinking. And under such circumstances manufactories are carried on. All around, above the surrounding of this court-yard are Chinese habitations, terrace-like, overtowering each other; all through these the same condition exists; all sanitary law, police regulations and fire ordinances are violated.

Duncombe Alley—Sickening stench; open fires; slime and filth; a Chinese boarding house: wooden additions to buildings.

An Alley immediately above the last, off Jackson street, entrance through a wood-yard, where the same condition of things exists. Immediately above this one:

An Alley on Mr. Sheppard's property, behind Stockton street, off Jackson, is an indescribable hole of filth and stench. Piles of dirt, mixed with human excrement, garbage, etc., defies all civilization.

Stout's Alley, off Jackson street; terrible stench and filth; open dens, open fires, etc., all but a repetition of the above.

726, 728, 727 and 729 Pacific street should be classified as amongst the above enumerated. Cigar manufactories are carried on here.

734 Pacific street.—The same condition of things exists.

741 Pacific street, or adjoining to it, is an old, rickety wooden building. Immediatety behind it a fearful state exists. Upon entering through an adjoining wood-yard, we found a very paradise of Chinamen; piles of dirt, filth, stench and slime, enough to sicken the stomach of any white person.

Pacific Place, off Pacific street. The ordinances are violated to an alarming degree.

Alley, above 716 Pacific street.—Apparently without name; is only a repetition of the above cited lawlessness.

Spofford alley.—Every house there is a direct violation of all sanitary and police regulations and fire ordinances. Filth, stench and smoke, over-crowded habitation, houses of prostitution of the vilest sort, court-yards covered with slime, etc., abound there, in contradistinction to all civilization.

735 Pacific street.—Filthy condition of premises, etc.

S. W. corner of Jackson to Dupont streets.—Fish market underground. The Chinese there prepare small fish for shipment. The fish must be caught only in nets, which are prohibited to be used by law. Fearful filth exists there, caused by the offal of the fish.

Globe Hotel, n. w. corner of Jackson and Dupont streets. Once one of the principal hotels of the city, now a complete wreck; only fit for Chinese to live in; abounds in an overcrowded condition of habitation; a perfect Chinese colony; all sanitary and police regulations and fire ordinances violated. In the basement are butcher shops, to which are attached filthy and open water-closets, generating the peculiar Chinese odor.

Cooper's alley, off Jackson street, between Kearny and Dupont streets. Through the center runs off a stream of urine, which ends in an open sewer. Small alleys run in on the side. The place is a dreadful nuisance, a butcher shop is in this stink-hole. Crowds of Chinamen, amongst them in some portion, invalids and sick, populate this small space. They all smoke opium, cook at open fires, live in filth or stench; the ground sticky with slime. This place exists 100 feet from Kearny street. A citizen owning property there complains bitterly against this Chinese nuisance. He says that his property is valueless, and he is unable to live there any longer, because this unhealthy condition forbids him to do so. Next door to this place, from a cellar, a Chinaman was carried out, supposed by the neighbors to have had small-pox. The committee inquired, but could not find out, where he (the Chinaman) had been brought to.

Bartlett Alley, off Jackson.—Is another hole, only fit for Mongolians to live in. Houses of prostitution, stink, filth, and stench exist there; open fires everywhere; slime and filth everywhere, in halls and courtyards.

Oneida Place, off Sacramento, with two alleys running east and west.—Fearful condition exists there. Filth; garbage; ruins of buildings—old rickety wooden structures—crowded with Chinese. Urine and human excrements lend additional charms to the atmosphere. Wooden additions everywhere to the main buildings. There is an illicit cigar factory in this place, where thousands of unstamped cigars are hid between the upper floor and the lower ceiling of the building. An illicit whiskey distillery is also carried on in that block by Chinamen, and is hunted after by policemen, but the Chinese are too shrewd.

Brooklyn Alley, off Sacramento.—The same condition of things exist there.

Narrow Alley, with wash-house, etc., between the above alley and Dupont street.—Same condition of filth, etc.

805 Sacramento Street—a far-reaching cellar.—Dreakful stench; filth in piles; slimy and slippery floor, etc.

Sacramento Street, above Kearny (see memorial).—A colony of Chinamen. Slime, filth, stench, smoke, open lawlessness, over crowded habitation, etc., etc. Immediately behind the principal stores on Kearny street.

Sacramento Street, immediately next door to the above, opium dens, etc.—Filth, stench, open fires; wooden structures added to main building; wood yard immediately behind Kearny street. Here exists a passage-way, which leads through to California street, which runs partly underground, partly above ground. Upon this open space stands a solitary building, which harbors a Chinese lottery. This institution is so ingeniously constructed that it cannot be raided. There it is where, some time ago, two white men were found killed. This alone shows how the acuteness of the Chinaman defies the law of the land.

Varennes Street, off Union Street. Hospital there. (See memorial.)

Clay Street, near Joss House. Hospital in cellar.

Adler Alley and opposite to it off Montgomery Avenue. Hospital and bone house. (See memorial.)

712 Dupont Street—A filthy colony of Chinamen; formerly the "California House;" all the vices and all the lawlessness of Chinatown exists there.

Eight houses on Washington Street: 816, 824, 828, 832, 836½, 846, 845, 817. Filth; stink; remnants of dead animals; piles of dirt; fearful water closets and stench A horrible condition of things exists here. Open fires and lawlessness; Urine and human excrements make the courtyards slimy and rots the very foundation of the buildings.

Washington Alley, off Washington Street, between Washington and Jackson Street—Filthy fish markets exist there. Nearly every building in this alley is in the above described condition; houses of prostitution. The same exists in

Brenham Place—Nos. 1, 2 and 3 between Washington and Clay.

Stockton Street—All Chinese houses between Clay and Washington, and Jackson and Washington Streets. They are in such fearful condition, that our own white race has to leave there, and "Houses to let" and "stores to let" can everywhere be seen.

The Chinese will destroy property and create a filthy and unhealthy condition wherever they may settle. To prove this assertion we would cite for instance:

507 Pacific Street, where a washhouse exists. The place is a Chinese paradise of dirt and filth. The very floor creeks with slime and slops; no windows; everywhere desolation, and Chinese civilization is to be seen and felt. The same exists in close vicinity to a public school at the shoe manufactory of Buckingham & Hecht.

Rose Avenue, where a horde of Chinese are living in filth and dirt. They show that they cannot control their affinity to lawlessness and filth and crime. Also

Wash House on Hyde and Post streets exhibits the same condition, which endangers the health and welfare of the population of this city. The places are stations towards which Chinese civilization and lawlessness travel, crushing out all civilization of the Caucasian race.

The honeycombed condition of Chinatown is perfectly well known; they (the Chinamen) can pass from one block to the other, from one house to the other, either by subterranean passages or above the roofs.

THE MONGOLIAN PROBLEM IN AMERICA

A DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE YELLOW PERIL, WITH NOTES UPON AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN ITS RELATION TO THE BOYCOTT

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

BY

W. K. ROBERTS

FROM APRIL, 1889, TO DECEMBER, 1905, AN EMPLOYEE OF THE CHINESE MARITIME CUSTOMS SERVICE.

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1906

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Author of "*Divinity and Man*," "*An African Canaan for the American Negro*," *Etc.*

The Theoretical Principles in Brief.

I.

The immigration of any race or class of people whose members or their descendants do not rise to the high standard of civilized life maintained by the at present predominant white population of America will tend to lower the moral tone of the nation, endanger its political institutions, and weaken its prestige as a world power. The best interests of the world at large demand that the superior man shall prevail wherever possible, and that the baser types shall be eliminated or restricted to those regions where the higher race does not thrive. The climatic conditions of North America are favorable for the highest type of Caucasian manhood, and with immigration laws protective of this race the noblest civilization the world has known can be permanently established there.

II.

History discloses no instance wherein a people coming of the admixture of two or more of the racially diverse branches of humanity have achieved greatness, or even maintained stable and liberal self government. If an admixture of the races found favor with the laws of nature Constantinople would be to-day the intellectual and moral center of the civilized world. Wherefore, the more important feature of immigration is racial type and not the worthiness of individuals, in disregard of race (there being moral and depraved elements in all races), for ethnic history proves that national characteristics result not from educative or other influences of human invention, but by the blood inheritance fixed by the unalterable laws of nature.

III.

Restrictive immigration laws, to be the least objectionable to all concerned, should discriminate against races rather than nationalities. The best alternative to this procedure, that would effectively exclude unassimilable aliens, would be an enactment against all Asiatics, Africans, etc., but which would still admit Europeans so long as any foreign immigrants are desired. Many Chinese have made the assertion that they could find no fault with an immigration law excluding *all Asiatics*, but that the ancient pride of their people, which for thousands of years has held China to be the superior nation of the Orient, is grievously offended through their being specially singled out for this purpose.

IV.

Japanese and Korean immigrants are likely to prove even more objectionable than the Chinese, for the reason that while they are equally clannish, and spend no more of their earnings in the country than the latter, they are more turbulent and aggressive, when their numbers are sufficiently augmented to embolden and bring out these inherent qualities.

V.

The low intellectual status of the Mongolian masses, and their fitness to survive under the most squalid and precarious conditions of life, make them formidable competitors with Caucasians—who demand something better than mere animal existence—and the latter can easily be outclassed by them in every field of industry. China, Japan and Korea can send forth from two to three millions of emigrants every year, and there is no part of the earth so attractive to them as North America.

VI.

By reason of their extensive contiguous land borders, the United States, Canada, and Mexico should have similar immigration laws, more especially with regard to Asiatics.

VII.

While there is a possibility of conditions in China so improving that foreigners in the country may entrust their interests to the care of her government, the time for this appears, as yet, a long way off; meanwhile the "gunboat policy" will remain a necessity with nations desirous of safe guarding their citizens domiciled there. America should accept the situation thus presented, and not incur the odious charge of trying to secure advantages through sentimental cajoleries while the European nations are doing the police work of the country. That she has "lost face" with China through this—from an Asiatic point of view—weak policy, is proved by an inner study of the audacious boycott against her goods, and she is not likely to regain prestige without either countering the boycott with a hostile tariff against Chinese goods or proving an ability to defend the interests of her people by force of arms.

VIII.

America should offer no more advantages to Mongolians than they themselves offer to Americans. No American, or other foreigner, can buy land or engage in business in competition with the natives in China outside the treaty ports, while in Japan, although a pretense is made to tolerate foreign enterprises, whenever such are fairly started a systematic boycott, or some sort of vexatious litigation, will ensue which eventually makes the foreigner glad to sell out. It is practically impossible for a foreigner to win a case at law against a Japanese in his own country; for although he may obtain judgment in his favor, the right of a native to appeal from one court to another has virtually no end. This, taken together with innumerable cunning devices which invariably crop up to defeat him, serve to deter any foreigner from undertaking a second lawsuit in that country. In sooth, the Mongolians in their own domains are, under almost every circumstance and condition, intensely loyal to the interests of their own people and opposed to foreigners, whereas in America they are allowed free industrial competition and are more likely to be favored in the law courts than an American opponent. The emigration to China or Japan of only a few hundred Americans, as competitors with any class of their people, would be quickly followed by sanguinary riots or boycotts which would prevent their remaining. On the other hand Americans might go to any country of Western Europe and be readily adopted on terms of equality with the natives. This merely goes to show that the Europeans and Americans are of a single racial stock, and will therefore readily assimilate, while the Mongolians being of a radically different race, are at heart always antagonistic to the white man. W. K. R.,

December 2, 1905. Shanghai, China.

The Mongolian Problem in America.

I. MONGOLIAN MIGRATIONS AND CONQUESTS.

HISTORIC MIGRATIONS AND INVASIONS.

As to where the present Mongolians of the Far East originally came from is still a matter of conjecture. Certain ethnologists claim to have found a connecting link between the Chinese and the ancient Babylonians, but as yet the evidence is rather vague in this direction. There are still the remnants of an aboriginal race in China, known as the Miaotzu tribes, while in the north of Japan we find the Ainos, who presumably are the aborigines of that country. Both the Miaotzu and Ainos are Mongoloid in type, though it is supposable that, whatever their original racial features, during the thousands of years in which they have been in contact with their conquerers the blood of the latter would predominate. It is sufficient to say that as far back as human history goes the Chino-Mongol race has been in undisputed possession of the coast regions and adjacent islands of eastern Asia. The Chinese have historic traditions dating back 6000 years or more, but with no logical suggestions as to where the pioneers of their race came from. From the present focus of the yellow race there have in times past proceeded westward mighty hordes which overwhelmed the weaker peoples found in their path. The Japanese have traditions of contact with America in ancient times, showing that their junks visited the Pacific Coast and traded with the natives. Whether these visits had anything to do with the origin of the American Indians or not, the features of the latter show them to be of the same racial stock as the Mongolians, though more nearly allied to the northern Tartars and Malays than to the Chinese or Japanese. As a hypothesis it seems about as probable that the Mongolians of the Far East had their origin on the American continent as that the progenitors of the Indians came from Asia. It agrees somewhat better with theology to assume that the Indians came from Asia and are a branch of the great Turanian-Mongol race. Had the modern Chinese or Japanese made a conquest of the American continent before the arrival of the white man, they would have freely intermarried with and assimilated their Indian kinsmen and there would have been no such conflicts and hatred as have occurred between the whites and the natives, who were racially widely divergent from each other.

In dealing with the historically authenticated invasions by Mongol-

Tartars we find that of South Russia by the so-called Golden Horde, impelled forth by the Grand Khans of Tartary. The myrmidons of Ghengis Khan and Timur, after conquering the Slavs, founded a despotism which exacted tribute from them for more than two centuries. But the Golden Horde failed to improve their opportunities as conquerors and white Russia threw off the yoke that had galled the necks of her people so long. But the Tartars left the curse of their base blood in southern and eastern Russia, and that antagonistic and unreasonable blood has supplied the Cossacks, whose ready and cruel treatment even of their own kith and kin has sustained an oppressive autocracy, and whose treacherous and traitorous natures have brought recent humiliation and shame upon their country. Had all the Russians been pure Tartars the Japanese would never have won so many victories over them; had they been of pure Caucasian stock their political revolution at home would have taken place many years ago and in a peaceful manner. The scenes of barbarity recently enacted in Russia have occurred mainly where the people are of a mixed Mongol Caucasian type, as at Odessa, where the Tartar blood exceeds that of the white race. No atrocities of consequence or wanton destruction of property have taken place in northern or western Russia, where the population is true Caucasian, except those perpetrated by the Mongol-Cossack troops.

Another successful invasion by Mongol-Tartars was that of the Huns under Attila, whose minions overran and devastated a large portion of southeastern Europe. Their progress in Europe was eventually checked by the Germans, and they finally became domiciled in what is now Hungary. Those of the Huns who remained in Europe, after the manner of the Tartar conquerers of Russia, intermingled their blood with that of the Europeans and produced the present mixed race of Austro-Hungary. This infusion of Caucasian blood weakened the virile and loyal energy of the Huns and unfitted them for further conquests. Still another historic invasion by the yellow race was that of the Ottoman Turks, who swept down upon and conquered the major portion of Asia Minor and the Balkan States, thus bringing under their sway the fairest regions of Europe and the flower of the Caucasion race. The Turk followed the example of the Huns and Russian Tartars by intermingling their blood with the European and Semitic populations they conquered and thereby neutralized the warlike prowess of the race. The modern Turk, although possessed of a considerable Caucasian strain, is still as ferocious and unconscionable as his Mongolian ancestors, but lacks their cohesive and aggressive energy.

Had either of the three great Mongol invasions of Europe been sustained by continued immigration from the Far Eastern stronghold of the race, the whole of Europe would, no doubt, have come under their sway. Then in time a mixed race would have resulted, and finally this would have been absorbed and the white blood overwhelmed and eliminated. The Mongol migration which now threatens North America, if permitted to attain proportions sufficient to strongly influence political affairs in their favor, will have permanent support from Japan and China, and therein lies the serious danger to the white race. A mixed race might or might not be formed, but the final result would be the same. The ancient Aryan invaders of India lost their high standard of intelligence and moral discipline through admixture with the inferior aborigines of that country. In this case white men conquered the black natives of Hindostan and through admixture with them produced the modern Hindoos—a people incapable of maintaining orderly government without British aid. The Mongolians naturally prefer their own women for wives, and it was the difficulty of getting them from their distant homeland that led the Huns, Turks and other Tartars to intermarry with Europeans. That these two widely divergent branches of the human family are extremely slow to intermingle their blood is apparent in the fact that even at the present day in portions of Hungary, the Balkans and Russia there are millions of Tartars of the pure original stock, and who still maintain the customs and traditions of the Far East from which their ancestors migrated many centuries ago.

PRESENT AMBITIONS FOR MIGRATION AND CONQUEST.

The desire in both China and Japan to emigrate to distant countries has in modern times been of slow growth, apparently owing to a strong attachment for their native land and dislike of contact with foreigners. A migratory impulse, however, has been awakened in recent years by reason of numerous returning emigrants with much wealth from America, Australia and other places. This incoming wealth has inspired many families in China and Japan with a desire to send abroad one or more of their members. The patriarchial system which obtains in these countries leads each successful member of a family to in a measure share his resources with his brethren. He does not actually divide his wealth with those outside of his own household, but endeavors to give opportunities to even distant relatives. Such being the case, a family clan will club together and raise means to send a strong youth to some foreign land in the hope that he will return wealthy and relieve the hard life of his people. This widespread desire would under favorable conditions cause an annual emigration from China of more than two million souls, and their going would have no other effect upon the country than to relieve the densely congested population and improve its healthful energy. It would give better opportunities to those at home, and the robbers and beggars now so numerous in the land would be diminished; for these vagabonds, in the main, have taken to evil ways through finding themselves outclassed in the hard struggle for existence. Wherfore, the annual emigration from China of a couple of millions of people would be a vast relief to the fierce labor competition, to say nothing of the wealth they would return to the country. This fact is now fully understood by all intelligent Chinamen, hence the eagerness of the Imperial Government to keep open as many avenues as possible for the outflow of its teeming millions. The closing of the gates against them in the United States, Canada and Australia has proved a most galling check upon the ambitions of the Chinese, and they naturally feel themselves unjustly discriminated against.

A similar desire to emigrate is now prevalent in Japan, where young men, in almost every station of life, are simply frenzied with an eagerness to get abroad. Stories written home by friends in America of the wealth that awaits them there lead to most extraordinary efforts to reach the land of promise. Missionaries are beset by young fellows who profess the most sincere desire to have the gospel taught them; but it is soon discovered that they are extremely attentive to the English language and their questions easily turn toward the conditions of life in America and the best means of getting there. The more patient ones usually succeed in gaining all the information they desire and probably a recommendation to kind persons across the sea who will lend them a helping hand when they arrive there. A check is imposed upon the outgoing of these emigrants by the Japanese Government, which fears the passing of an exclusion act similar to that against the Chinese. Each emigrant must obtain a government passport before leaving Japan, and these are not issued to the lower element of the coolie class. The Japanese Government will, no doubt, make an effort to induce as many as possible of the surplus population to emigrate to and found colonies in Corea and Manchuria, and this may be expected to, in a measure, check the tide turning toward America. It is fairly safe to say that Japan can send forth at least half a million emigrants a year and not feel the loss.

That the Japanese, at least, are fired with the ardor of world conquest is evidenced in their dauntless courage in battle with the Russians, in their well mapped out plans for securing themselves in Corea and Manchuria, and also in the riots in Japan after the terms of peace were made known. The aggressive element wanted an indemnity with which to be prepared for another war, and without which meant that their warlike spirit would, for financial reasons, be held down for many years to come. The present ambition of the Chinese in this direction is to regain the lost possessions upon their borders and likewise the prestige they once held in the Far East. To this end many students and agitators are at work striving to evolve a spirit of patriotism and to discover the best methods of achieving the goal. Blind and irrational as are many of the suggestions for the elevation of China to a first-class power, they are, nevertheless, far above the Boxer programme of six years ago, and viewed in this progressive light the aggressive spirit now rife in the country is not to be ignored. Six years ago the Boxer proclamation that multitudes of angels would aid them in battle with the foreigners, if not wholly believed in by the literati, were attentively listened to and encouraged; but to-day few educated Chinese can be found who believe that anything short of hard fighting on scientific modern lines will bring them success, and their defensive and aggressive policy is being shaped accordingly.

METHODS OF MONGOLIAN CONQUEST.

The Chinese and Japanese, at the present time, form the strongest and most enlightened branches of the Mongolian family. Being racially pure they are inspired with a common loyal sentiment for the preservation of their own type and social institutions, and antagonism toward all that is in conflict therewith. Although the Chinese have not, as yet, shown the intelligent national unity required for success in armed contest, their fraternal sentiments and attachment to the traditions of the land have been sufficiently demonstrated in the present boycott and other events to dispel all doubt as to their possibilities in this respect. Their conquests in the past have been practically confined to the field of peaceful industry, and through survival of the fittest therein their numbers have increased from a tribe of a few hundred to hundreds of millions whose legions are spread over an area larger than the United States. It would appear a characteristic of the Mongolian to strive long and industriously toward a desired goal, and when it is reached to relapse into a process of deterioration. Their conquests in the past invariably show this trait; whether Hun, Turk or toiling Chinese, all have displayed most strenuous fighting or competitive qualities until having attained the desired ascendancy, when retrograde to a certain normal plane of semi-barbarism would ensue. Whether the Japanese will follow in the same train remains to be seen. Certain features of their trade would seem to indicate that they are not different from others of their race in this respect. In competition for the trade of China they have manufactured certain classes of goods equal in quality with those of any foreign country, but whenever the foreign competition was overcome their goods became continuously poorer in quality. Chinese students in foreign schools usually study so diligently as to distance their white classmates, but when finished with school their studies invariably cease altogether and they relapse into a slovenly mental condition. The inference to be drawn is that the Mongolian as a competitor, whether under arms or in the field of industry, is almost invincible, but he is unable of his own initiative to maintain a high standard of excellence. Under the dominating influence of the higher Caucasian nations he may rise greatly above his normal level, as in the case of the Japanese under Anglo-Saxon influence, but take away that influence or let them feel that they can ignore it, and they will probably fall back to the plane the race has occupied throughout recorded history.

The Chinese have continuously encroached upon the nations of their border lands and absorbed and eliminated them by the slow but sure process of industrial competition. Their cousins, the Tartar tribes of Manchuria and Mongolia, for many centuries, by force of arms, held back the industrious Chinese, but their territories have in recent times been gradually colonized by the latter until these one time fierce nomads are now practically helpless. The Tartars wanted the fertile plains of the north for their flocks and herds, and by their predatory raids discouraged the Chinese farmers, who were making constant efforts to settle there, while the Chinese on their part built the historic wall as a protection against the Tartar invasions. The Chinese, although conquered some three centuries ago and since held in quasi subjection by the Manchu Tartars, have slowly but surely encroached upon the patrimony of their rulers until the latter are now at their mercy. Should the outside world not interfere with this progress of the Chinese, ere many years have passed an uprising will occur in which the whole Manchu population will be enslaved or exterminated. When Nanking was taken by the Taiping rebels, some fifty years ago, the Manchu inhabitants, numbering many thousands, were slaughtered without mercy. Natives of that city at the present day recount the persistent efforts of the Taipings to prevent a single Manchu escaping. The latter were often hard to distinguish from the Chinese, so the head of every doubtful individual was carefully examined and if any of the characteristics of the Tartar skull were shown the unfortunate possessor was put to death. It is pretty certain that if the Taipings had made a conquest of north China, the whole of the Manchu race would have been massacred. On the south and southwest borders of China a peaceful conquest is slowly going on, where the weak Cochin China natives are melting away before the patient toilers of the Middle Kingdom, and the formerly dense and pestilent jungles of the Shan States are being turned into gardens and rice fields. The natives on these southern frontiers are not turbulent, so the Chinese find only natural barriers to their progress, such as pestilent swamps, jungles and wild animals.

The apparently slow progress of Chinese colonization may be in a degree accounted for by great internal calamities caused by civil war, famine and pestilence, which have in some instances destroyed from ten to thirty millions of people in the course of a few years' time. Chinese traditions show that many of the provinces have been time and again devastated, then in the course of a few decades repeopled from the adjoining regions. Notwithstanding these numerous calamaties the yellow hosts have slowly gone on enlarging the spheres of their activity, never forming independent states, but, until checked by the Europeans, always adding to the expansive greatness of their loosely constructed nation. The French possessions of Indo China and British Burmah at the present time form political barriers against their territorial acquisition on the south, but they nevertheless encourage the multiplying of the Chinese people in those regions—giving them, in fact, better protection from civil war pestilence and predatory natives than their own government could do. While the Laos tribes of Indo China are a weak and peaceable race and easy victims for the Chinese, the Malays of Burma and Siam are, like the northern Tartars, a fierce and assertive people from whom the Chinese, without the protection of the European governments concerned, would suffer many disadvantages. As it is, a constant immigration from China is pouring into these regions, and it is evidently only a matter of time when all the Laos and Malay inhabitants will be eliminated and a pure Chinese population established there. The same fate will happen to the Filipinos if Chinese are allowed to enter the islands and come into industrial competition with them. It may be questioned if even the Japanese can withstand competition with Chinese colonists, for although they are far more industrious and economical than any other people save the Chinese, because of their larger proclivities for pleasure they would ultimately lose in a purely economic contest. With the qualities of patient industry and fortitude under adversity in their favor, the Chinese have been constant gainers over the populations on the borders of the empire, even though at times conquered, and frequently suffering terrible losses at their hands —losses that need not to have been sustained had they been endowed with more bravery or the honesty to maintain a disciplined army. It is entirely owing to the lack of a strong and progressive home government that the Chinese have never, of their own initiative, migrated from the shores of the China Sea or founded colonial dependencies in distant lands. Unless they acquire military prowess their colonial conquests, away from their own borders, must always depend upon the good will of foreign nations. But, whether military achievements are possible to them or not, they are learning to play a diplomatic game, using commercial favors as a fulcrum, in which they may succeed in getting their surplus millions planted on foreign soil to repeat the history of the Far East. Their legions, being dependent upon foreign good will, would in such colonial contest proceed slowly, but none the less surely than have the hosts of the mother country; for no people on earth can permanently hold out against the patient industry and unerring connivance of the Chinese.

THE VITAL TENACITY OF THE RACE.

Although the Mongolian is the least robust in physique of any of the numerically great races, his vital endurance under adverse conditions is unsurpassable. Indeed, it is easily proved that his power to endure climatic severities and unhealthful conditions generally greatly exceeds that of any other people on earth. He thrives equally well in the tropics or in the far north. His near relatives, the Lapps of Europe, the Esquimaux of America and the Tunguses of Asia, live in cheerfulness amid the icy blasts of the Arctic Circle, while the Laos and Malays of Indo China and the Indian seas, who also are his near kinsmen, thrive in malarial marsh and jungle under the burning equatorial sun. A Chinese or Japanese dressed in the costume peculiar to any of these distantly separated localities would be scarcely distinguishable from the natives, and he would easily become acclimated in either extreme of northern or southern temperature. Although they pay slight attention to health and ignore sanitary measures, they are subject to fewer epidemics in proportion to numbers, and are troubled less with colds, fevers and other ailments than the white race with all its scientific precautions. This vital tenacity is shown in infants, who are cared for in a manner that few white children would survive under. A babe will be seen sleeping peacefully slung on the back of a young child at play, its head dangling about in a way that seems almost to wrench its neck out of joint. Then when the awful foot binding operation begins with a Chinese girl two or three years of age the torture is so terrible that it is reasonable to believe but few children of any other race could live through. The breaking of the toes and doubling them under the ball of the foot, followed by bandages that are continually drawn tighter until a size sufficiently small is attained, causes the child to cry piteously night and day during the first couple of months following the operation. The author has been kept awake many nights in the cities of central China by the moaning of these child victims of a horrible custom; and yet, while a few of them die from lockjaw and mortification of the feet, the death rate from this cause is nothing like as great as one would expect. The ability of the Chinese to use opium without disastrous physical effects is another evidence of their remarkable vitality. Near eight million pounds of Indian opium per year is consumed in China, and although there are no statistics to show the full amount of the native drug used, it is probable that the quantity is sufficient to swell the total opium consumption to somewhere between fifteen and twenty million pounds. Morphia is also extensively imported, and its use is spreading rapidly. While the per capita amount of opium and morphia used in the country may not seem great, it must be borne in mind that at least two-thirds of the population are too poor to indulge at all in the luxury. It is incomprehensible to one bred in western lands how a Mongolian laborer can perform exacting toils upon his meagre diet of rice and vegetables. If no other factor than the mere ability to survive and perform the necessary labors of life cheaply be taken into consideration, the Mongolian is absolutely certain to win over all men in an economic contest. Although white laborers might train themselves to live on a much cheaper diet than is usually the case, their whole organic being would necessarily have to be changed to enable them to subsist in competition with the Mongolian. In short, their minds would have to be dwarfed and their nerves reduced in energy to the Mongolian level to fit them for a life and death contest with that race, with its inferior order of intelligence and aspiration.

That the Mongolian is possessed of the most enduring qualities as a soldier is proved by a study of the Tartar invasions of Europe and of the recent Japanese exploits. The latter at the battle of Mukden fought on for many hours without food or rest, numbers of them falling by the wayside from sheer exhaustion, but wholly undaunted in spirit. The only Mongolian people who have signally failed in heroic bravery are the Chinese, which failure, however, should not be regarded too lightly by their critics. Their failure in war can be partially explained by the as yet unrealized *necessity* for united action against a foreign enemy. The officials and not the rank and file are chiefly to blame in this connection, since their neglect of duty and penchant for robbing the common soldier operate to discourage and demoralize him. Let the Chinese once become infused with the right sentiment, their troops drilled and armed to an equality with those of other nations, and, as many eminent foreigners have prophesied, the world may have to change its opinion both in regard to their possibilities of patriotic union and efficiency in arms.

II. THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF CHINA.

INFLUENCE OF WESTERN EDUCATION.

A widespread belief obtains among foreigners, including some of those fairly well informed upon the internal affairs of China, that the old empire is on the verge of a political upheaval which may mean the adoption of Western methods and the inauguration of an era of better government and greater prosperity for its people. That there is ground for such belief it is noteworthy that greater leniency is shown toward known or suspected enemies of the dynasty, increased interest in foreign educative methods, and official toleration of what may be termed progressive literature. A constitution for the country has been talked of, and though there seems to be as yet no definite idea as to what form it should take, no one can gainsay that this product of Western education may not in due course bear good fruit. Many missionaries report that of late more students apply to them than they are able to handle, whereas only a few years ago they could scarcely be obtained for any consideration. The desire for Western knowledge owes much to the disastrous failure of the Boxer propaganda, which advocated expulsion of everything foreign and a return to the conditions in vogue prior to the advent of the foreigner. It has been further strengthened by the results of the Russo-Japanese war, in which the successes of the latter were clearly due to their adoption at least of the Western science of warfare. The influence of Western education *per se* is not as yet much in evidence outside the treaty ports, there being apparently not the slightest intention of modernizing the cities of China proper by improving sanitation, adopting street cars or other public utilities. However, such improvements have been discussed in certain quarters, and it would not be altogether out of the question to suppose that efforts in this direction may be atempted in the near future. People at home are often misled, through hearing of street cars being proposed at Shanghai or some other large treaty port, into the supposition that the Chinese are adopting Western methods, when as a matter of fact these are enterprises of foreigners and intended to be establishd on concessions wholly under foreign control. The Chinese have actually built telegraph lines, arsenals, mints and iron works, also several cotton factories, and the opportunities for money making by the officials in connection with these government aided enterprises affords an incentive to the undertaking even of railway building. Perhaps one of the most encouraging signs of an awakened spirit in China is the recent opening of schools for girls in several different cities by the Chinese themselves.

So far Western educative influence has not perceptibly influenced the Chinese character as regards honest and conscientious methods. The official in charge of a mint makes his squeeze by adding more than the prescribed amount of copper alloy to the silver coins produced, or by flooding his district with copper cash or paper notes. Military officers are constantly in trouble with their men because of arrears of pay, while the purchaser of military supplies buys cheap and inferior materials and loses no opportunity to put money in his own pocket. To all appearances they would still repeat their methods pursued during the Chino-Japanese war, when several high mandarins became millionaires through the purchase at a heavy discount of out-of-date European firearms, although no suitable cartridges could be obtained for them. They were sent to the army just the same, with misfit cartridges, with the result that when attacked by the Japs the soldiers, unable to fire the guns, promptly threw them away and took to their heels. It is not too much, however, to suppose that the Chinese may, in time, evolve safeguards against the official corruption which at the present time seems so impenetrable a barrier to their national development.

Foreign education does not seem to have had much effect in softening the anti-foreign sentiment of the Chinese. They give some evidence of the dawn of a true patriotism, and, were a majority of their countrymen similarly educated, the early attainment of better international terms for China would soon be possible. But with thousands of minds steeped in ignorance to one thus qualified only serves to make that one a dangerous agitator instead of the beneficent teacher he ought to be. The enlightened Mongol does not compare favorably with the average Caucasian similarly advanced above his fellow men; it is pretty safe to assert that of the numerous foreign educated students who have returned to China not one has pursued a course of self sacrifice for the well being of his countrymen. No Chinaman expects to find a self-sacrificing patriot; every one is expected to feather his own nest while serving his country. The growth of anti-foreign sentiment through close contact with foreigners may, after all, be perfectly natural, since the same thing occurs in the most enlightened Christian lands. In California, British Columbia and Australia, where the Mongolians have become numerous, is found the greatest prejudice, while in England, eastern Canada and the eastern States, where they are seldom seen, there exists no such antipathy. The province of Kwangtung, from which the Chinese in the United States emigrated, is the most bitterly anti-foreign and has taken the most active part in the boycott agitation of any part of China. Instead of the returning emigrants spreading a leaven of enlightenment and a favorable influence toward foreigners, as has often been predicted would be the case, just the reverse has happened. Thus, while Western education certainly enlightens and improves the individual Chinese, at the same time it makes him more aggressive, and he is wont to become a schemer and plotter either against his own government, against foreigners or against some class or clan of his fellow citizens. Such were the men who inaugurated the Taiping rebellion in central China, and the American boycott. Some of them are to-day scheming for the overthrow of the present dynasty in China; others, especially of the Japan educated class, are dreaming of military achievements for the undoing of the white man, while others of lesser enthusiasm confine their brain energies to their personal interests. A search to find one with any substantial and disinterested plan for the betterment of his country would be all but fruitless, though all of them can talk eloquently enough upon what ought to be done and what they would do if given the power.

JAPAN EDUCATED STUDENTS.

At the present time there are Chinese students in Japan to the number of about five thousand, the expenses of some two thousand of whom are paid by the Peking government. These students fraternize with their Japanese cousins in the same manner as do English or German students with young Americans under like circumstances. They are quickly made to feel the ties of racial kinship with the Japanese, and together they soon come to unburden their souls in the discussion of political questions in a way that never occurs between themselves and members of the white race. The result is that the Chinese student in Japan becomes inspired of an ambitious patriotism which would seem for centuries to have lain dormant in the people of the Middle Kingdom.

These students on their return from Japan are thus imbued with a new patriotic fervor, but, as far as outward appearances go, it partakes largely of the kind which looks to turbulent demonstrations for reforming the home government, and to the methods of war for a better adjustment of China's foreign relations. They and their Japanese associates seem to have gotten at second hand certain socialistic theories originating in the military burdened countries of Europe which they believe may be applied to the oppressed millions of the Orient. The writings of European theorists upon social problems have been more or less badly translated and printed in Japan and thence circulated in China—often with the connivance of the returning students—and their influence upon a few half enlightened and many densely ignorant minds is arousing a spirit of serious discontent. An unruly political element in Japan is thus spreading an agitation in both Corea and China which, helped on by the student class, is preparing the way, mayhap for peaceful progression, but more likely for discord and civil strife. So far the sentiments thus propagated have shown no decisively anti-foreign spirit, though they could readily be turned in that direction. The Japanese aggressives berate the Chinese students upon their nation's tame submission to many indignities at the hands of foreigners, within its own borders and abroad. They urge that China should become a military power under the tutelage of Japan, all of which fires the spirit of many students, who, in turn, excite the ardor of their brethren at home. The Chinese officials have in former years made vigorous efforts to restrain all such reform enthusiasts, but since Japan's victories over the Russians they are inclined to accept almost anything coming from that country as unanswerable logic. In fact, not a few officials now look upon the leadership of Japan as the one great hope of China; but they ordinarily fail to discriminate between the good and the bad which comes from their island neighbors. All classes of Chinese mistrust white men, believing them to be unconscienable oppressors, and there is no attempt to discriminate between nationalities of that race. Hence, when the Japanese aggressives point to the successes of their country through military effort, a hopeful inspiration dawns upon the Celestial mind, and he reasons that what Japan has done China, with her greater numbers and resources can surely accomplish. Many Japanese make the boast that the grand Khans of Tartary were Japanese, and this argument is used to help instil the belief that the island empire is destined to lead the Mongolian hosts to even greater glories than of old. It was the chagrin of this ambitious element in Japan which caused the riots in that country when the terms of peace with Russia were made known. An indemnity from Russia would have left Japan in a position to go to war again on short notice, whereas under present circumstances her ambitions for further conquests will be checked for many years by financial conditions.

Judging from outward appearances, but few of the substantial ideals and methods of the Japanese have seriously impressed the Chinese students, since they have little to say of the large factories at Osaki, the ship yards at Nagasaki, or the vast merchant marine which Japan has acquired. They recount China's wrongs from foreigners and the feebleness of her government, but fight shy of a solution which suggests many years of industrial and educational development and the gradual elevation thereby of their people to political equality in the fraternity of nations. Their jeers at the students educated in America and Europe, as being semi-foreign, and conservative on the question of political reform, are eagerly joined in by all the turbulent youth of the country. Whether the better elements of the Japanese, who are now emigrating in large numbers to almost every part of China, and the more conservative faction of the native reformers, aided by Chinese officialdom, will be able to hold in bounds the impending revolution remains to be seen. That a storm is brewing few who look beneath the surface of affairs in China will deny; the form it will take depends in a large measure upon the attitude maintained by foreign governments. If the great powers, while still maintaining a discreet military pressure, use their influence to encourage China to follow in the footsteps of Japan in her civic development, all may go well, but if grasping commercial avarice adds further grievances to the already long list—such, for instance, as the extension of foreign shipping, mining and other concessions throughout the interior in competition with the natives, it is probable that the violent factions will gain control, with results disastrous to the empire and, through the demoralization of commerce, great injury to the whole civilized world.

REVOLUTIONARY POSSIBILITIES.

That there is a growing restlessness among the younger and more vigorous elements of China, a dissatisfaction with the prevailing order of things, no one can gainsay. There are at present several factions of progressives and malcontents at work, some of which have fairly clear and practical theories upon the path China should follow, and yet others whose propositions are so radical and illusionary as to alarm, not only the native supporters of the old regime, but also foreigners interested in the country who can see naught but bloodshed and anarchy to come out of their proceedings. That serious alarm is felt in high quarters is shown by an imperial decree, issued last month (November, 1905), concerning the revolutionary agitation. This decree, after asserting the present Manchu dynasty to have been the most merciful and lenient in its treatment of the people of China, in comparison with all preceding dynasties, and that the Emperor had lately encouraged every kind of reform in the government on modern lines, utters a solemn warning to malcontents, and instructs Tartar Generals, Viceroys and Provincial Governors to diligently put a stop to the agitation and to offer rewards for the arrest and punishment as rebels of all who persist in spreading about reports harmful to the peace of the land.

An underlying principle upon which all the disaffected elements of China agree is that of hatred of the present dominating influence of the foreign powers and the desire to in some manner overcome it. The recent success of Japan and the eagerness with which foreign nations are courting her friendship have aroused in the Chinese an ambition for like distinctions for their own country. They feel keenly the odious position of China, with her treaty ports under foreign control, her officials treated as barbarians in not being allowed to try foreigners, or foreign naturalized Chinese, in their courts, no matter how serious their offense; the presence in her inland waters of foreign ships competing on equal terms with native craft, and even foreign postoffices in competition with their own upon their own soil. The anti-foreign agitator finds no end of material upon which to base his arguments against the evils of foreign domination, and the more violent his suggestions of a remedy the more is he listened to by the ignorant rabble. And yet, while the milder propositions of the conservative reformer find few supporters among the masses, since the failure of the wild scheme of the Boxers in 1900 it is interesting to note the influence with the government of those peacefully disposed toward foreigners over the advocates of forceful effort. Chang Chih-tung, one of the Viceroys of the Yangtze Valley who saved that region from devastation by the Boxers, has been exalted to the highest rank of any purely Chinese official in the empire, while Tuan Fong, who was Governor of Shensi province when the order was sent forth from Peking to exterminate the foreigners and who concealed the order and thereby saved the lives of nearly one hundred missionaries, has also been the recipient of high honors and is one of the five high commissioners elected to be sent abroad to study foreign governments. These encouraging features of the Chinese Government give evidence of healthful development that may be destined to lead the country out of its difficulties, but the impartial onlooker can hardly conclude otherwise than that the violent and irresponsible elements of the country at large would prevail at the present time should anything occur to arouse great popular excitement.

The time honored mandarin system, wherein high offices are practically purchased from the Government, and the official allowed to repay himself through extortionate taxation of the people under his charge, is a serious stumbling block in the way of Chinese progress. To collect and honestly hand over the revenues of the country, and to be content with fixed and moderate salaries, is rather too much to expect of the Chinese officials after the schooling ninety-nine out of every hundred of them has received. Without radical reform of official procedure in this direction it is difficult for the Westerner to see just how any substantial progress can be made in the government of the country. Bribery and corruption, in every conceivable form, is as rampant in the empire now as ever before, and this is the last topic the literati wish to discuss, for the reason that they are all hoping to get office for themselves or their sons and they want the good old get-rich-quick system maintained. If bribery and corruption were done away with and only fixed fees and revenues collected, no office would be worth striving for, the chief incentive to studious preparation for the provincial examinations would be lost, and the hordes of official underlings would have to find other occupations. Then, supposing an entirely new system of government were formed, where are the conscientious and capable officials to come from? Most foreigners would naturally suggest the foreign educated students and missionary proteges, which is in fact the only logical proposition, since all others are practically untouched by any other view of the subject than that of their forefathers. But, even if the better part of the foreign trained men in the country were called upon for this purpose there would not be enough of them to fill one-tenth of the offices in China, and the other nine-tenths would be able easily to overrule and neutralize their influence.

Were a revolution started in China tomorrow, there is everything to indicate that there would be lacking any strong guiding mind to outline and direct its proceedings. Furthermore, there is no intelligent and influential substratum from which to draw secondary leaders and advisers. Finally, confidence and faith in their leaders, having in view any worthy national aim, would be utterly lacking in the rank and file of the army necessary to overcome the Manchu rulers of the country. Consequently, any army the revolutionaries might at the present time get together could only be expected to become what every Chinese army—whether as imperialists or rebels—has proved itself, a ruthless and unruly mob of vampires leaving devastation and ruin in their path. Wherefore, every sign pointing toward an armed revolution, under present conditions, should be taken as a danger sign, portentous of horrors of every description for the Chinese people, with no possible good to come out of it; while on the other hand the best hope of a prosperous future for the nation lies in peaceful industry and educational development on modern lines.

THE AMERICAN BOYCOTT.

In the month of July (1905) the boycott in China was begun against American goods, and this effort to strike a deadly blow at America's trade in the Far East has been in more or less active force up to the present date. Indeed, for a few weeks following its commencement it looked as if Americans themselves in certain parts of China would be so completely tabooed as to compel their migration elsewhere. Inquiries were made as to who were Americans, and their names and places of residence and business connections listed. Hotels and other public places managed by Americans were deserted by all Chinese patrons, and their native servants intimidated and warned to leave. The wildest rumors were set afloat among the ignorant natives concerning atrocities perpetrated upon their defenseless countrymen in America. At one time a report was circulated that all the Chinese in America had been massacred; another stated that the Chinese had rebelled and slaughtered all the Americans! Coolies talked glibly of the terrible vengeance China would visit upon the American barbarians and predicted that it would not be long before the whole of the United States would be in the hands of the Chinese. The more intelligent classes had somewhat milder versions of the state of affairs between the two countries. They solemnly discussed news obtained from somewhere of the appalling condition of trade in America owing to the boycott, making it appear that without the patronage of China about half the population of that country would face starvation. American officials were represented as piteously supplicating the Chinese Government to use its influence to call off the boycott. Certain English newspapers published in China substantially encouraged the boycott by printing accounts of boycott meetings and complaints from Chinese and foreigners against the workings of the Exclusion Act in America, assuming that such restriction and hardships upon an industrious people was altogether wrong and that the Chinese were right in this effort to obtain justice. On the 11th of October an article appeared in the Shanghai "North China Daily News," over the signature "Sinensis," giving what purported to be an extract from a letter written at Toronto by a "British" missionary. The letter, after berating what she termed the medical examination farce at Hongkong, relates the experience of a Chinese boy, who, because he was suffering from an affection of the eyes, was not allowed to land at San Francisco. After recounting the frantic efforts of the father, a merchant in San Francisco, to prevent the boy being sent back to China, she ends it with: "It makes my blood boil to see the way the Chinese are treated and talked of in San Francisco."

The editor apologetically remarks in a footnote: "We insert this letter merely as an account of abuses, which the American Government has practically decided must be abolished with all speed." This article was translated by the vernacular press, with the addition of a few harrowing details, and sent broadcast throughout the country, helping to influence the people against Americans. In the same paper there appeared on September 12th a purported interview with Secretary of War Taft, taken from the "Nan fang pao." published in Shanghai. In this interview Mr. Taft is made to say: "There can be no doubt that the protest you did raise (through the boycott) called the attention of the whole American people to the grave injustice and abuse of the laws of immigration by some of our immigration officers." After stating that it was his purpose to conclude a treaty * * * "that will preclude and eliminate all possibilities of such abuses in the future, so that the exempt classes will, in the future, land on our shores with as much freedom and facility, and be subject to as few formalities as the higher classes from other countries," he goes on to say, in reply to the question as to "whether the stringency against coolie immigration will be released at all," "that at present it was impossible owing to the strong sentiment against it. But," he continued, "in a few years, the very States that oppose it so strongly now, would beg the Chinese laborers to immigrate." As construed and presented to the people by the native press the American Government through its high officials acknowledged itself in the wrong, but was trying to shirk the blame on to certain over-zealous immigration officers, and if the Chinese but kept up their protest long enough America would be only too glad to open the gates to their immigrants. In its issue of December 1st, the above mentioned English paper printed an article under the title "At a boycott meeting," evidently written by a correspondent at Hankow. In this the writer relates that he was a passenger some years ago on an Empress steamer with eight hundred coolies bound for Vancouver, where, on account of a supposed case of smallpox on board, the vessel was put in quarantine for a fortnight on arrival at Victoria. He then describes how some forty beach combers came on board armed with Winchesters and clubs and had the Chinese stripped and given a bath of disinfectants, while their clothing and effects were baked till ruined, etc., etc. The chief point of interest in this part of the story is that it implied Victoria to be an American port, the intention evidently being that when the article should be translated and copied into the Chinese papers it would be set forth as further evidence of the barbarous methods of American officials. That the Japanese have played an important though well concealed part in the boycott is evidenced by the great activity shown by Chinese students in Japan and the mass of literature on the subject sent from that country into China. The Chinese students there have made continuous and frantic appeals to their people at home to keep up the boycott until the Exclusion Act is repealed. The pamphlets thus sent for circulation in China are filled with harrowing stories of ill treatment of their people by America and remarks upon the insult the whole nation suffers thereby. The adroit play upon the historic pride of the Chinese bears a distinctively Japanese color, and the native press in China have copied and made much of this view of the Exclusion Law. The issue of the "Nan fang pao" of November 14th states one of the demands of the boycott propaganda as follows: * * "that Chinese shall not be singled out for exclusion. It is an insult to our whole country. Either America must exclude all Asiatic labor or admit Chinese who qualify under the general immigration law."

Certain telegrams and messages on the subject of the boycott, purporting to come from high quarters in America, implied that the Government there admitted all the charges of gross injustice, and was willing and eager to make amends by at once repealing the Exclusion Law were it not for the opposition of the working men. This led to many fantastic stories from the agitators, who depicted the American laborer as lazy and dissolute in the extreme. They solemnly stated how one Chinese could do the work of three or four Americans, and that after California had been developed by their industry the perfidious white men were trying to rob them of their just rewards. Many Chinese officials took a hand in encouraging the agitation, and it required all the moral pressure the American Consuls could bring to bear to induce them to in any way interfere with its progress. One official with the rank of a Taotai boasted that he had spent 20,000 taels in telegrams in helping it on. The Chinese clerks in the Custom House at Shanghai and at other ports organized boycott committees and issued circulars, to which even their names and service rank were attached, and distributed them broadcast. These Customs committees laid systematic plans for aiding the boycott, levied contributions on high and low of the native staff and, no doubt, would soon have made their influence felt in the handling of American cargoes if a restraining order from the Inspector General had not checked their progress.

That the Chinese merchants, at least in north China, have little sympathy with the movement is found by the fact that they have continued all along to demand American goods, but, for their own protection, usually requesting importers to represent them as of European origin. The generally speaking superior quality of American manufactures accounts for this preference, and, unless Europeans closely imitate these goods, the demand for them will continue regardless of the boycott. Although the energy which marked the prosecution of the boycott during the first two months of its inception has waned to a considerable extent in the treaty ports, the propaganda is still being pushed farther and farther inland by paid agitators. Boycott placards have continued to the present date to adorn the walls in many streets in Shanghai, and numerous shops contain notices that American goods are not dealt in. The Cantonese, who have throughout been the most vigorous in its prosecution, have almost invariably the following notice conspicously displayed in their places of business: "This firm neither buys nor sells American goods." While Shanghai gets the credit for having started the boycott—because of the active zeal of certain so-called students from this quarter who were refused a landing in America—its chief support has been from the Cantonese, who are practically the only people of China directly concerned with the American immigration laws. The massacre in October of five American missionaries at Lien Chou in Kwangtung province, gives evidence of the fierce character of this agitation among the Cantonese as compared with the lukewarm spirit shown by the northern Chinese. While all Chinamen are experienced hands at boycotting, it was no easy task, in north China at least, to keep the masses enthused on the subject after the excitement of the first few weeks was over. No Chinaman is willing to make long continued personal sacrifices in any cause, and he is easily led to suspect his leaders of playing a game in the interest of their own pockets. He may be readily incited to join in a riot or any scheme to injure others if he himself is likely to gain anything thereby, but he is too lethargic for long sustained hatred of or connivance against an enemy. The author has had experience with many boycotts in China, ranging in importance from the petty spite of servants against obnoxious masters to the stoppage of a ship from working cargo because of the behavior of a mate, and in one instance where a whole line of steamers were threatened with boycott unless a captain who had shot a piratical native was discharged. During the summer of 1894 a great strike and boycott occurred at Hongkong because the authorities there took heroic measures to stamp out the black plague. The employes of shipping and other firms quit work, and for weeks trade at Hongkong was about paralyzed. Servants deserted their masters and coolies emigrated in thousands, and during the more acute period British marines had to be called upon to coal merchant vessels leaving the port. Finally rumors were circulated that the British had decided that if the boycott continued much longer the Chinese would be banished from Hongkong and a Japanese colony established. This caused a panic among the boycott leaders, the strike was called off, and normal conditions were soon restored.

A CONVERSATION WITH AN ANTI-AMERICAN CHINESE.

In the following narative are presented the salient features of a conversation held with an exceptionally well informed and outspoken Chinese upon American policy in China and the incentives to the boycott:

"After the many kind actions of America toward China do you think it right for her people to carry on the present boycott?"

"What kind actions do you refer to?"

"You know that in 1868 Mr. Burlingame, American Minister to China, helped her in the making of treaties with the leading European powers."

"But America was then in need of Chinese labor in the West and so did us the favors mentioned in consideration of getting coolie immigrants."

"In the American statutes is there not a clause which prohibits our people from dealing in opium in China?"

"There is, though it accomplishes nothing but to embarrass American shipping firms and frequently Chinese shippers also."

"Then in the China-Japan war did not the American Ministers in Peking and Tokio act as intermediaries, and were not prominent Americans appointed to assist China in making a treaty of peace?"

"Yes, America did that, but we naturally suppose she was thinking to gain some advantage for herself by it. However, we duly appreciate the act whatever the motive."

"In the year 1900 did not the American admiral refuse to fire on the Taku forts when the warships of other nations destroyed them?"

"Yes, if you find any glory for your country in that you are welcome to it. Other foreigners say it was most cowardly of your admiral not to take part, seeing the Boxers were doing all in their power to annihilate the Americans."

"During the occupation of Peking by the allied armies were not the American troops forbidden to go on punitive expeditions?"

"They were, but other foreigners did, and so helped to bring the disorders to an end. If all had acted as the Americans the Boxer rebellion would have spread over the whole of China."

"Well, at the termination of hostilities did not America strive to reduce the indemnity, and has she not proposed to return her share for the education of the Chinese youth?"

"This was all for self glorification, as we believe. America has tried to pose before the world as being better than other nations, but we consider her to be actuated by a hope to secure China's everlasting gratitude, and the best share of her trade. We are told that America's plan is to creep in and gain superior advantages after other nations have done the fighting. The Chinese will hardly be bamboozled that way. They are not quite so stupid as the American assumption implies."

"And so you think there is small appreciation of these acts which America looks upon as benevolent, and that there is no likelihood of a revulsion of feeling?"

"There is not much likelihood of remorse on the subject, at least while there is any discrimination against our people in America. Can you tell me why the Chinese are treated so differently from other foreigners there?"

"There are several reasons which might be cited, the principal one being that the Chinese are of a different race from the Americans, with ideas, customs and religions at variance with those prevalent in the country. The European immigrants, on the other hand, are of the same racial stock, have similar aspirations and ideals, and so readily adopt the usages of the land as to become practically indistinguishable from our own people. These immigrants contribute proportionately as much to the wealth and glory of the civilization extant as born Americans, whereas the Chinese send their surplus wealth back to China, spending as little in the country where they make it as possible."

"We are told that the Chinese are treated so badly in America that we hardly deserve to be called men if we do not protest against it in every way possible."

"But do your informants tell you of the indignity your people suffer in not being allowed to land in Australia or Canada without paying a heavy and discriminate poll tax; of South Africa where they are penned up like cattle at the mines, and of the Dutch possessions in Sumatra where they are taken from Swatow and Amoy under contract, held under armed guards and every one deported on expiration of their contract term? Why don't you boycott those countries where Chinamen are discriminated against much more than they are in America?"

"Well, they are countries which have not committed themselves to any fixed policy of the peaceful solution of questions of this kind, and China does not feel strong enough just yet to try an armed contest with them. It would not be consistent with the teachings which America has so loudly proclaimed to us all these years for her to resort to forceful measures because of a boycott managed in an orderly manner by private citizens. We do not so much find fault with the treatment our people receive in America as with the trouble and humiliation of landing there. The detention sheds at San Francisco are said to be unfit for even the lowest coolie to live in, and yet well to do merchants and travelers are sometimes kept there like criminals for weeks."

"Such stories originate in the fact that according to present regulations the steamship companies are held responsible for the immigrants they bring, whatever their nationality, until it is decided whether they are eligible to land or not. If their papers are in order and they have no disease classified as infectious they are not detained or inconvenienced in any way. Even the Chinese prohibited from landing are not treated so differently from immigrants of other nationalities. A number of Russians were recently detained at San Francisco, and some of them denied a landing because they had contracted a disease of the eyes while en route through Panama. It was really a pitiable case, the members of several families being thereby separated from each other—the rejected ones being returned to Panama by the steamship company that brought them. There are many diseases in China which Americans naturally wish to keep out of their country. You know there are 60,000 lepers at Canton alone and a little slackness in the medical inspection of Chinese immigrants might permit of that terrible malady gaining a foothold in our country."

"No restriction whatever is placed upon Americans landing in China. What would they say to being detained on a wharf, in a dismal shed, for a couple of weeks while their eligibility to land was being determined?"

"Americans can land without hindrance and carry on business in the treaty ports of China, but to go further inland they must have special passports, which may cost them as much trouble and loss of time to get as it does a Chinese, without the proper documents, to land in the United States. However, if an American, on arrival at any Chinese treaty port, is found to be suffering from an infectious disease, the Maritime Customs officials will place him in quarantine. So there is practically no difference on the subject of landing in either country except in the matter of laborers, and you know very well what a hubbub would be created in China if a few thousand American laborers should land and undertake to compete with the natives. The Americans who come to China do not in any sense compete with the industrial life of the country. They are mainly travelers who spend some money in the country; a few merchants who deal almost exclusively in American goods in wholesale quantities, and missionaries who derive their support from home. Every thousand dollars profit made by Americans in China is offset by millions sent home by the Chinese in

America. Hence, when all the different phases of the interrelationships of the two countries are taken into consideration China, notwithstanding the grievances now complained of, certainly has the best of the bargain. Suppose America retaliates by a counter boycott or by tariff discrimination that would shut off your thriving trade with her?"

"In that case we would, of course, have to call off our boycott and make the best deal we could on the subject. But we have no fears on that point. We know the Americans too well to think they will do anything more than squabble among themselves over the question. We will look on and enjoy the fun of seeing Uncle Sam trying to squirm out of the same diplomatic hole he went in at. He cannot afford to fight after his frantic appeals to the whole world to settle disputes by arbitration. His missionaries have been teaching us these many years that war is a relic of barbarism and that we must pursue the pathway of peace. If he goes to war over a purely commercial proposition he will be accounted by the whole world a mercenary hypocrite. We feel perfectly secure as far as any action against us by the United States is concerned, and all we fear is that our own people will not pull together long enough to gain for our cause all that we desire."

III. CHINA'S GRIEVANCES AGAINST FOREIGNERS.

FOREIGN ENCROACHMENTS AND AGGRESSIONS.

As matters stand at the present time in China, her grievances against foreign nations are numerous, and in may respects of a humiliating nature. Instead of having profited through contact and trade with the foreigner China may be said to have suffered enormous losses in almost every department of her national existence. Before the foreigner came she was a self-sufficient nation, possessed of every character of climate and soil and of industries that supplied all the demands of her people. Her trade was almost entirely of an interstate character, in the carriage of which millions of native craft swarmed upon her coasts and inland waters. The populations surrounding her were her inferiors and vassals, who looked upon the Middle Kingdom as the greatest on earth. With the advent of the white man one train of evils followed quickly upon another, and her efforts to shake herself free from his influence might be compared to the wild floundering of a leviathan of the deep beset by some small but active and implacable foe.

China's first serious difficulty with the foreigner was the opium war with England, in which her stupid though apparently well meant efforts to prevent the sale of the Indian drug to her people resulted most disastrously to herself. As a consequence of this war she paid a heavy indemnity for the opium hulks destroyed at Canton by the Mandarins, and was forced to relinquish the island of Hongkong. Later on treaty ports, concessions and exterritorial rights were demanded by the various foreign powers, through which China lost sovereignty over many strategic points on her coasts and a large number of her own people as well. Recently the British have enlarged their possessions by acquiring a strip of territory at Kowloon on the mainland opposite Hongkong, and the leasing of Wei Hai Wei on the Gulf of Pechili. The French have encroached upon territory which China regarded as her own on the Cochin China frontier, and has acquired through diplomatic pressure numerous land and mining concessions. The Yu-Man-Tzu rebellion against the Catholic missions in western China in 1898, in which the lives and property of some thousands of converts were destroyed, was made an occasion by the French Government to claim an indemnity of a couple of million taels, and certain land and mining privileges, although the only injury to the subjects of that country consisted in the holding captive for a few months of a French priest. The Germans made an occasion of the killing of two of their missionaries for the exacting of the lease of Kiaochow on the Shantung coast, and have come in for their share of railway and other concessions, while the Japanese, after taking from China the island of Formosa and her protectorate of Korea, had to be paid an indemnity of sixteen million pounds sterling to vacate the Liaotung peninsula. The Russian encroachments in north China and the Japanese acquisitions there are too recent and well known to need recounting here. All of these cessions and leases of territory, indemnities, etc., were obtained from China either through war or aggressive diplomacy. In some instances bribery of high officials played an important part, but it can truthfully be said that China has looked with sorrow and chagrin upon the wresting from her of the natural bulwarks upon her coasts, and the privilege of governing all within her own boundaries. Her acme of sorrow and confusion was thought to have been reached when she was forced to agree to the Boxer indemnity of forty million pounds sterling, but the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war promises yet more territorial losses and perplexities for her government. Since the Boxer calamities, and until the late war upon her borders, she has made some commendable efforts toward finding a remedy for her international complications, but they seem to multiply so fast that while she is groping for light on evils that have grown upon her in the past, new ones are cropping up in all directions.

The presence of foreign naval and military bases upon her coasts and land frontiers not only dims the hope of China's national independence, but also promises more and more trouble for her through their being made the refuge of her worst criminal and political offenders. The native enemies of the government can go to Port Arthur, Kiaochow, Hongkong or Saigon, and plot as much mischief as they like, since their extradition is generally too tedious and expensive for the Mandarins to undertake. What Canada is to the United States in this respect, each one of the above places is to China—a retreat for her numerous malefactors, political plotters and smugglers.

Near half a dozen foreign governments have established postal agencies in the treaty ports, some of which have been extended far inland. It is partly owning to the competition of these agencies that the Imperial Postal service, which for some years has been in process of development throughout the country, does not pay expenses.

The drain upon the Imperial revenues, through payment of the indemnities has led to various economies in Peking, the which, although humiliating and vexatious to royalty and its vampire host of courtiers, are by no means an unmixed evil. Notable among these is the curtailment of certain former extravagances in royal birthday and other ceremonials, and the recent decision of the Empress Dowager to put the hundred or so of concubines in the Emperor's harem to light manufacturing work.

TRADE AND TARIFF.

Under present conditions in China the wholesale trade, both in imports and exports, is chiefly in the hands of foreign merchant firms. When Chinese capital is employed in wholesale transactions, it is generally under the name of foreign establishments. This condition, although a result of the impotency of the Chinese Government to prevent exactions and squeezes by local officials, who hover like birds of prey over native wealth and prosperity, is nevertheless, for various reasons, a grievance to be complained of. In the first place foreign firms pay no taxes to China, and, being located in the treaty ports, are not amenable to Chinese law. In order to bring them to book for infringements of treaty stipulations the native officials must resort to troublesome and sometimes difficult reference to their Consuls. They occasionally undertake to buy property and to build warehouses or wharves outside the treaty port limits and if the local Consul happens to be very zealous in helping his countrymen it may mean that the case has to be referred to the high authorities at Peking. A purely Chinese concern may use the name of an obliging foreigner to carry on an inland traffic, avoiding thereby certain Mandarin squeezes, which, although mayhap, according to treaty, illegal, are nevertheless enforced upon native firms, thus placing them at a disadvantage with those under semi-foreign protection. It is an arrangement which profits the foreigner and restrains the native officials, and while not an altogether legitimate grievance, occasions an actual loss to the country and exasperates the official class. It is a grievance for which foreigners cannot be held responsible and which can only be eliminated through a more honorable system of dealing by the officials with their own people. Were it not advantageous to the Chinese at the treaty ports to employ foreign middle men whose names and consular protection afford a barrier to official greed, no foreign firm could exist in China today, for the native merchants have in other respects every capacity and facility to oust them through legitimate competition.

A more real grievance is that of foreign vessels, and native vessels under foreign flags, which, while paying no taxes save port and tonnage dues, have the same privilege in the coasting trade and upon the inland waters as native craft. This foreign competition within her own domains has been forced upon China much against her will by European governments, the excuse being the failure of the natives to open up and develop the inland trade. Under its workings native vessels, which formerly carried all the vast riverine commerce, are giving way to foreign managed, modern equipped steamers. It would seem that native vessels of the same class ought to be able to compete successfully with those owned by foreigners, but owing to the fact that many of the latter are subsidized by their home governments, and that the former are hampered by official taxation and squeezes the advantage is with the foreigner. All the Chinese coasting and large river steamers are officered by foreigners while the crews of both foreign and native vessels are Chinese; wherefore the cost of running them is in this respect practically the same. Only launches and very small steamers under the Chinese flag have up to the present date been officered exclusively by natives, and even these, judging by the number sailing under foreign flags, are outclassed by foreign competitors, or native competitors who obtain foreign registers for their vessels. Japanese coasting and river steamers have a more decided advantage over native vessels of the same class than other foreigners, in that, in addition to being subsidized, they are officered by Japanese whose salaries are far below those of the white officers of the China merchant steamers. Until the Chinese ships are subsidized, and officered by their own men, they will continue to be at a disadvantage in competition with the Japanese, and the latter show every probability of being able eventually to oust the ships of their white competitors.

The tariff grievance of China consists in the treaties with foreign nations, to which she has been an unwilling partner, which permit of but five per cent. advalorem duty being collected on goods imported from abroad. No nation trading with China, excepting Great Britain, charges less than an average of 25 per cent duty on Chinese goods. She is not allowed to maintain any system of diffierential tariff to favor the nations charging the least duty on her goods, but under the favored nation clause of the treaties must tax all alike. Her hands being thus tied as regards taxation of foreign imports, in order to obtain a necessary revenue she is compelled to levy an export duty upon her own goods, thereby crippling them in their competition with others in the markets of the world.

The drain upon China's resources through the present state of her foreign commerce may be further estimated by the following figures: Total foreign imports per annum, approximately, value $200,000,000. Exports to foreign countries value $150,000,000. Balance against China $50,000,000. Value of Indian opium imported $25,000,000 per annum. Of course from the latter item no good whatever can be taken into account. When to these figures are added interest on the indemnities unpaid, and losses through competition of foreign shipping within her own waters, a fair idea is obtained of the disadvantages under which China is placed in the congress of nations. Taken together with official corruption, opium smoking, and the rebellions, which are an almost constant factor in some part of the empire, it is no wonder that although many millions of her people are toiling to their utmost capacity, poverty and misery are broadcast in the land.

MISSIONARIES.

If at the present time a consensus of the true opinion of a majority of the Chinese people were taken to show which of China's sorrows through her international relationships has proved the most objectionable, it would certainly point to the missionary proganda. The real aim of the 5,000, more or less, of foreign missionaries in China is an enigma to the natives. They as a rule believe the inner motive is to form a clan or social organization friendly to foreigners, the which can be relied upon, when their numbers are sufficiently strong, to aid foreign conquest of their country. Few Chinese will admit a belief that the converts are such for any other purpose than material advantages to be gained thereby. They one and all aver that the Christian plan of salvation does not appeal to the reasoning or any other faculties possessed by their race. Its propositions seem to them more mysterious and whimsical than even the traditional myths which the ignorant natives continue to propagate. Japanese invariably express the same view when finding their questioners disinterested and unbiassed. Both Chinese and Japanese general opinion is that if foreign missions or their funds were withdrawn the Christianity of the coverts would vanish like chaff in a gale of wind.

Unitarianism excites some real interest, with the Japanese at least, but the doctrine of the orthodox creeds, except when the occasion demands suavity and diplomacy, they express only contempt for. It seems therefore that the Mongolian faculties attempt no further spiritual insight than that obtained through matter of fact reasoning, and whatever does not appeal to reason is looked upon as appertaining to the fabulous and fit only to interest youthful and unschooled minds. Therefore, while it is easy enough to make ceremonial Christians of the Mongolians, to give them the spiritual principle of Christianity is a more difficult proposition, as is evidenced in the fact of their showing no emotional or conscientious awakening at the time of conversion or afterward. The Caucasian convert shows heartfelt emotion and conscientious repentance for sins of the past; but it appears that no such feeling can be aroused in any Mongolian, though he may simulate it if anything is to be gained thereby. The deeper thinking Chinese, therefore, have the gravest apprehensions as to what the native Christians will do if they should gain strength and power in the empire. They point to many wrong doings of the converts, and while admitting them to be no worse than are possible from other Chinese of the same class, this is claimed as proof that the new religion has not improved their moral status. The pro-Boxer edicts issued at Peking in 1900 cite the misdeeds of the converts and the enmity between them and the other natives as an intolerable grievance.

It is feared, if the time honored veneration for Confucianism be taken from the Chinese, and they become divided up among the various Christian sects, there will remain no common ties to hold them together and that civil strife and anarchy will prevail. The Taiping rebels are suggested as the kind of Christians the Chinese are likely to become. This rebellion was started some fifty years ago by Christian converts whose dream was to evangelize the empire by force of arms, and its propaganda was for several years attended by great successes. The Taipings captured Nanking, Soochow, Hangchow, and other large cities and held them against the Imperial troops until a foreign drilled army under General Gordon finally vanquished them. Their methods did not improve with increase of power; on the contrary their Christianity degenerated into the grossest paganism. They murdered in cold blood millions of the peaceable and helpless inhabitants of the cities they captured, and throughout their conduct gave not the slightest hope that if they succeeded in conquering the empire a better government than the existing one would ensue. It has been computed that in this rebellion 30,000,000 lives were sacrificed, and an untold amount of wealth destroyed. The fanatical zeal of these so-called Christians led them to destroy the finest palaces and temples in central China, among them being the porcelain tower of Nanking, one of the "seven wonders of the world." Masses of ruins of once magnificent edifices are still a prominent feature in the cities they dominated, silent though terrible witnesses of the fanaticism possible to men of the intellectual status prevalent in those regions, no matter what religious doctrine they may claim to serve.

The Yu Man-tzu anti-Christian rebellion, which took place in Szechwan province in 1898, is charged to the aggression of the Catholic propaganda and its converts who number many thousands in that region. These rebels, who at one time numbered some twenty thousand men, under their chief, Yu Man-tzu, devastated a region several hundred square miles in extent and sacrificed probably one hundred thousand lives. When the rebellion was crushed and the settlement came the French Government took up the cause of the church and exacted a large indemnity, and a number of land and mining concessions on the upper Yangtze river. Somewhat similar was the procedure of Germany who in reparation for the murder of two German missionaries demanded and obtained the port of Kiaochow, from which she has built a railway into Shantung province and otherwise advanced her political footing.

In the year 1899 the Chinese government, under pressure from France, gave political status as follows to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy: Bishops to be placed in rank and dignity the equals of, and entitled to demand to interview, Viceroys and Governors; Vicars-General and Arch Deacons to be the equals of and entitled to see Provincial Treasurers, Judges and Taotais. Other priests to demand to see Prefects of the first and second class, Subprefects, etc., the native functionaries concerned to respond, according to their rank, with the same courtesies. No one unacquainted with the social system of China can fairly estimate the power and opportunities for its abuse which this concession confers. While it may be supposed that few foreign missionaries would themselves abuse the official position thus held, it is absolutely certain that their native converts and helpers in general will find means of so doing. This phase of the question was carefully discussed at the time by the Protestant missionaries, and to their credit it was decided not to accept like powers for themselves, although according to the favored nation clause of the international treaties they were entitled to do so.

It is evident that missionary influence among the natives has greatly increased since the defeat of the Boxers, and while this gives encouragement to those who hope for the ultimate Christianization of China, the adherents of the old system apprehend therefrom much strife and bloodshed. That this apprehension is felt by missionaries also, a sentence from Broomhall's "Martyred Missionaries" (introductory page 10) may be worth taking note of. After quoting Christ's statement that he came not to send peace on the earth but a sword, the writer goes on to say: "That Christian missions have aroused this antagonism in China and that a stern conflict of life and death has begun there, the church of Christ must unreservedly acknowledge." There have recently been efforts made by certain missions to have their student graduates recognized as qualified for designate officials in the same manner as graduates in the regular Provincial examinations. This the Government proposes not to do, unless the graduates declare their adherence to the principles of Confucianism. Open persecution of the so-termed renegade native converts, it is realized, might mean another armed conflict with foreign powers, but China seems determined to continue the effort to prevent Christianity from gaining a respectable footing in the country through preventing any one being appointed to high office who is supposed to be attainted with its doctrines.

REASONS FOR SOME OF THE GRIEVANCES.

It may be said that the primal origin of every disadvantage which China now suffers in her international relationships is traceable to the blundering stupidity and dishonesty of her officials. Were she able to correct these faults in her officialdom, all her claims for better treatment from foreigners would be listened to and in due course adjusted. Her first war with England was in consequence of the arbitrary acts of her officials in burning the opium hulks at Canton, thus destroying millions of dollars worth of property for which she refused to pay. Of the British prisoners taken during that war some were carried about the country in cages and treated like wild animals on exhibition, while others were killed by slow torture. Owing to their having subjected foreign prisoners to torture in their courts, after the manner of native malefactors, and their total lack of justice in litigation cases, exterritorial rights were demanded by all Christian powers; wherefore matters at law, wherein foreigners are concerned, have since been dealt with by consuls of the different nations.

China's plea concerning this grievance is that she did not treat foreigners worse than her own subjects under similar circumstances. This may be true enough, but foreign nations refused to allow their citizens, who might be wholly innocent or their crimes not serious, to be put to physical torture which in some instances drove the victims to insanity. Mongolians, whose nerves are not developed to the acuteness of the Caucasians, can stoically endure these tortures, and such barbarous methods may be necessary in dealing with the worst class of native criminals. The inborn dishonesty of the race makes each individual distrustful of his neighbor, and no man is expected to tell a truth that injures his case without being compelled to do so. China has throughout the past shown unwillingness or inability to protect foreigners in the country, whether as travelers, traders or missionaries. Several distinguished travelers, and hundreds of missionaries and others have been set upon by vicious mobs, maltreated and murdered, and in no instance has redress been obtained without the pressure of foreign governments upon the high authorities. Even at the present day it is the belief throughout the world that no foreigner would be safe in any part of China if foreign navies were not hovering upon the coasts and inland waterways.

It was owing to the maladministration of her custom houses on the coast that the foreign customs inspectorate was established, which institution now employs some 1300 foreigners and more than three times that number of native helpers. Bribery and corruption prevailed in her customs department under native rule, and the cargo of no vessel received ready and systematic discharge without the paying of heavy squeezes, nor did any merchant know when he had finally settled his customs account. When the foreign inspectorate was tried at Shanghai and Canton forty-five years ago and the government found that not only were foreign traders satisfied, but that its own revenues were increased many fold, its workings were extended to all the treaty ports; and, while it was expected that the Chinese would themselves soon be able to run the service, the number of foreign employes has been constantly increased down to the present day. The customs service is not generally considered in the light of a grievance against the foreigner, but rather a necessary evil resultant of his presence. Although the high pay of this foreign staff is a matter to be complained of, the vast revenue collected and honestly accounted for serves to silence every proposition for change. The Chinese government knows very well that under native administration it could not expect half the revenue collected to be turned in; then, if the foreign commissioners of customs were dispensed with, it would lose the valuable advisory and diplomatic services they render in dealing with aggressive foreign officials who are constantly making demands of one kind or another.

China's grievance on the postal question can hardly be adjusted until the staff of the imperial postal service, which now employs about 3500 native clerks and agents, who are being trained on foreign lines under the Customs Inspectorate, shall have been brought to a state of reliable efficiency and distributed throughout the empire. At present the Imperial postoffice is competed with by dozens of native postal hongs, which do a thriving business on their own account. These private postoffices receive the support of nearly all the officials who in conjunction with the merchant guilds practically boycott the I. P. O. to a condition in which, even if foreign competition were withdrawn, it cannot pay expenses. While China is too weak, or indifferent upon the subject, to supplant the native postal firms by a single national system on modern lines, foreign governments are likely to continue their own agencies, in the treaty ports at least. The Chinese government, in its efforts to establish a national postal system, affords to the onlooker a strange paradox, in that, while being accredited as cruelly despotic with its own subjects, it is too timid to do away with the private native competition. The cause is mainly in the still deeply ingrained hatred by the officials and literati in general of everything foreign; though even with their support time will be required to train up the many thousands of native clerks necessary for the work. A considerable percentage of the best qualified clerks, whenever placed in positions of trust, have proved dishonest, and these have to be weeded out and others put in training for their places.

China's treatment of missionaries, to say the least, has been unwise. While the officials cannot be expected in every instance to afford protection against mobs of enraged and fanatical natives, it has been found that in the majority of massacres certain responsible officers were either lax in vigilance or secretly encouraged the evil doers. Then, instead of getting together all of the facts concerning the actions of over zealous or otherwise obnoxious missionaries and their converts and publishing them to the world, thereby making their own troubles and views on the situation clear, they have invariably kept sullen silence. By reason of this silence the missionaries are enabled at all times to make out a good cause for themselves and a bad one for Chinese officials, and the civilized world passes judgment accordingly.

The failure of China to grasp the situation resulting from her contact with nations more civilized than herself has brought forth the long list of evils of which she now complains. Had she profited by experience and improved her opportunities as the Japanese have done, and applied modern methods to the opening up of her resources, she would have forestalled all foreign enterprises within her borders and retained their profits for her own people. The foreigner seeing vast undeveloped resources in the country naturally seeks in some way to profit by them. Mineral wealth lying idle, opportunities for transportation systems that would open up new regions to commercial enterprise, tempt the enlightened foreigner to try to impress their value upon the official mind of China, and failing in this, he turns to his own government for assistance. To sum up the situation, the officials, instead of being alert to their own and the nation's vital interests, have cultivated the seductions of their harems and the opium pipe until their opportunities have been well nigh exhausted. Now that their resources have dwindled down through the taking over of a large portion of the internal customs collection by the Foreign Inspectorate, and through payment of indemnities, while the international complications are growing apace, they are showing some signs of awaking from the dream of holding on to a civilization that belongs to a past age. It is a somewhat discouraging sign, however, that the first impulse of China's awakening is to turn upon the nation that has done the least in the way of encroachment and most in benevolence toward her people.

IV. AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA.

ATTITUDE ASSUMED TOWARD CHINA.

In general terms the policy pursued by America in dealing with China has been that of a strong and self reliant world power, with a weak and incompetent people. And yet she has, in certain respects, gone further than any other nation toward recognition of the Chinese government as a civilized and responsible power; for instance, refusing, whenever possible, to resort to coercive measures when treaty violations have occurred. The treaties between the two countries evidence America as inspired by a sentimental desire to encourage and uplift the Chinese people, while China, on her part, displays no other motive than to make the best of a purely business transaction. While at the time of making the first treaty there may have been a thought to gain some advantage with the Chinese through running counter to Great Britain, whose methods in the opium war and territorial encroachments were strongly resented by China, humanitarian principles afforded the more potential force in shaping the attitude which has since prevailed. The American attitude of disinterested benevolence has gone so far, in fact, as to seriously hamper and restrict the enterprise of its own citizens in China, as compared with the opportunities enjoyed by other nationalities

Her laws, for instance, prohibit Americans from selling opium to the Chinese and American ships from carrying the drug to any Chinese port. This may, to people at home, seem a trivial sacrifice to American interests, but when trade conditions on the China coast are studied in detail it is found a considerable disadvantage, especially to shipping firms, which sometimes lose opportunities to handle consignments of cargo because a chest of opium is included. A native merchant may have a shipment of goods amounting to many tons which is to be sent say from Hongkong to Shanghai. An American steamer is ready to sail, with plenty of space for the cargo, and her owners are eager to take it, but finding a package of opium in the lot are compelled to refuse that part of it. Whereupon the merchant, not wishing to separate his goods, looks about for a ship the nationality of which is not hampered by such restrictions. On some of the inland waterways native junks are chartered by foreign firms, and foreigners lend their names to Chinese firms in order to escape certain taxes and extortions by the native customs. In such enterprises Americans are always outclassed because their junks cannot transport native opium, which, especially on the upper Yangtze River, is an important article of commerce. These restrictions, taken together with the relatively high consular fees, the red tape connected with shipping—which other nations have simplified in the interest of their people—and the unwillingness of the American Government to take coercive action when occasion demands, it is no wonder that American firms are scarce in China.

The parental policy of the American Government in restricting, and refusal to encourage, the enterprise of its citizens, as compared with other foreigners, however benevolent its intention, is little appreciated by the Chinese, but seems more offensive than otherwise, since it assumes to place them in the category of South Sea Islanders and American Indians, who require special laws to protect them from the vices and the avarice of the white man.

INCONSISTENT TREATMENT OF THE CHINESE.

The treatment accorded to the Chinese by America, when looked at from an unbiased standpoint, shows certain inconsistencies and a lack of well defined and diplomatic method. On the one hand she professes a benevolent interest in the Chinese people and solicitude for their destiny, and on the other makes an exceptional law to exclude them from her shores. While she pats the Chinaman on the back and claims to be his best friend, she singles him out from all the peoples of the earth for special legislation against. This is made the harder for the Chinese to grasp by the effusive denial of any such thing as race prejudice influencing her procedure. If it is not my race and color, asks the Chinaman, then what is it about me that you object to? It is a question difficult to answer without telling the truth, which is simply that in every section of the United States, except certain Eastern States, it *is* the Chinaman's racial characteristics, if not his color, which count against him. Industrially he is the acknowledged superior of all men. He will work longer hours for less pay, and give less trouble over it, than any other type of humanity on the American continent. But few Americans will honestly tell the Chinese that being of a radically different race and regarded as intellectually and morally inferior to the white man, they are undesirable immigrants, and it is this disposition to prevaricate upon the subject of exclusion, while preaching the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man, that brings them into disrepute.

It is not to be wondered at that America should fail to realize expected benefits from her one-sided benevolence, and professed aversion to war, with a cunning and evasive people like the Chinese, especially with no trained diplomats to explain details, befuddle their minds and to watch and counter their schemes. Europeans may understand and appreciate the so-called straightforward, outspoken, policy of America, but such diplomacy does not work well with Asiatics. There needs be much reserve and secrecy, holding back of a trump card, as it were, or a leverage of some kind wherewith to badger and awe the natives when difficulties are threatened. Instead of proclaiming outright that she does not want any Chinese territory and asserting her intentions to use her influence to check the ambitions of other powers in this direction, it would serve American interests better to say that while having no desire to grasp territory she might do so in certain emergencies. A position of this kind is maintained by the European powers, in consequence of which the Chinese government is careful not to give them the excuse for the aggressions they are supposed to desire. This method China pursues with her own subjects, as shown by the words "tremble and obey" which terminate every imperial edict of importance, and all officials and their underlings are popularly understood to be eagerly awaiting any indiscretion that will give them an opportunity to blackmail and squeeze money out of the offender.

Many American travelers and others with some little knowledge of China write to, or get interviewed by home newspapers, and give one-sided or useless information, or, as is sometimes the case, merely stories gotten up to suit private aims or opinions. False ideas in regard to China seem to have taken precedence in America over correct ones, and these have had much to do with the causes and continuation of the present boycott. Much has been written concerning the favors which ought to be shown to Chinese students on arrival in America. According to some of these would-be instructors of the people the student ought to be met at the steamer which lands him by a brass band and a deputation of the leading officials and citizens of the port, and so toadied to and fawned upon as to completely turn his head and make him thereafter an advocate of everything American. Now the average Chinese student ought to be accredited with enough manliness to resent any special attentions, and to prefer being treated, not as a gaudy savage, but as a full-blown man—just as a French or German student entering the country would be served. The fact is that Chinamen of the better class will appreciate being left severely alone, or treated in a common sense way, neither to be fawned upon or sneered at because of their race or nationality. It has also been loudly asserted that America's position in regard to the "Open Door" and the integrity of the empire would prove a guarantee of special favors in commerce. Seeing that this policy utterly failed to have any softening effect upon the boycott, is it not more reasonable to suppose that the best guarantee of satisfactory trade relations lies in mutually advantageous business methods? China may at some future time be able successfully to resist such forceful pressure as can now be put upon her by any foreign power with a few war ships, but business relations that are profitable to her people will always be held in high esteem, and no fanatical passions can do permanent harm in this direction. Of course the boycott is dangled before American eyes as being the result of an offended public sentiment, and as such it seems to have so far had remarkable success; but the agitators have told the natives a different story to keep them in line. The game is worth playing for, they say. Every Chinaman it may get into the United States is good for ten thousand dollars in gold for the Flowery Kingdom, while the possibilities of the future are unbounded. The first great proclamation issued by the boycott propaganda expounds much more upon the disadvantages to China through the exclusion of her *coolies* than upon the offending of officials and students by the immigration authorities.

Every excuse for the exclusion law to the Chinese seems weak and indefensible save that of race prejudice and desire for race preservation. This position they can readily comprehend, and, as far as their own domains are concerned, they intend to enforce this principle to the utmost of their ability. China for the "blackhaired brotherhood" is their slogan, and the idea of colonization anywhere near them by the "red-haired devils" is considered the most calamitous possibility imaginable. But, they argue, America disclaims any thought of reserving North America for the white man, for she has put herself on record as favoring the principle that all men should be on an equal footing there in the struggle of life. Most missionaries and many American officials are enthusiastic in impressing this feature of American opinion upon the Chinese, which, being in contradiction to the spirit of the Exclusion law and the social reception of their brethren in the United States, makes the position of that country most inconsistent and confusing. To the Chinese the policy of exclusion presents a somewhat lesser force in America than the sentiment of benevolent regard for China, or the vanity to make such display, and in this they perceive a weakness wherein lies their opportunity. Neither Australian nor Canadian exclusion laws are complained of, evidently because the British government professes no special affection for the Chinese, but simply deals with them as seems expedient to the interest of its own people. America, to be consistent, must drop either her exclusion policy or throw off the mask and let the Chinese understand that she has no special regard for them, and in future will merely look after her own material interests in the Far East.

THE AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE.

For various reasons the members of the American consular department in China have not maintained an equal standard of power and influence with their colleagues representing other civilized nations. One of the factors which has told against them is their comparative newness to office and want of experience with the customs and traditions of the people; a still more important one is their inability to speak the Chinese language. The service, in general, having been recruited under the partisan spoils system, no consul has considered it worth while to enter upon the task of acquiring so difficult a language, not knowing how soon he might be ousted from office. Furthermore, the service is, comparatively speaking, poorly paid, and this has led to unseemly scandals by certain enterprising men of the service trying to make both ends meet. The other great powers have established consular services in China on strict civil service lines, entirely disconnected from home politics. Only young men are eligible to join, and they are required to study and pass yearly examinations in the Chinese language. They are promoted by degrees from assistants to consuls and consuls-general, which system insures their good conduct and gives them something to look forward to as an inducement to remain in the service. Hence, by the time they come to be placed in charge of a consulate they are familiar with the ideas and methods of the natives and sufficiently acquainted with the language to deal directly with the mandarins—either conversationally or in writing. This latter accomplishment, in Chinese official estimation, elevates the possessor to the rank of a learned man and an equal with themselves; whereas the foreigner, whatever his rank, unable to speak or write Chinese is regarded as an untutored barbarian. The interpreters employed by American consuls are usually a bad lot, capable of manipulating all sorts of schemes to profit themselves. When the native official speaks no foreign language, as is usually the case, these interpreters are able often to carry on enterprises under the very nose of, and even to place whatever blame is attached upon the consul himself. Hence it is that the Chinese officials look with a certain contempt upon American consuls, and sometimes consider them culpable of the sins which their native underlings have committed.

Most of the American consuls appointed to China are old men, who have either failed in business at home, or who have sought the office merely for the distinction attached thereto or to see something of the outside world. In the latter case they have no intention of staying long and therefore feel but a small measure of interest in their charge. Young and vigorous men, like some of the vice-consuls now in the service, with the vague opportunities they have of promotion, will only remain until something better turns up. In this practical age few men can be expected to sacrifice the best part of their lives for their country without being suitably paid for it.

The American nation is as able to pay good salaries to its consuls as any country on earth, and it is time that its self respect urged the relegation to obscurity of the antiquated system which has dictated appointments to this service. Only good pay will attract good men, and only young men, inspired with the prospect of promotion according to merits and willing to make their career in China, will give all round satisfactory results. A young man with weak or vicious tendencies will be certain to give evidence of them and be eliminated from the service before he is in a position to disgrace it, and thus its good repute will be maintained. Neither overzealous church men nor social reprobates, just from home and imbued with home influences, can make satisfactory consuls. Preferably, let us have hard-headed, practical men who, from experience, will estimate the natives as they really are and not as they ought to or might be, and who also will not accept their generously proffered presents, the which are always given in the expectation of getting much more than their value in return.

V. CONCLUSIONS.

NEW CONDITIONS DEMAND CHANGE IN AMERICAN POLICY.

The conditions which now obtain in China, as compared with the political status of the country when the first American treaty with her was made, indicate that several matters require a more thorough understanding and that certain changes in the terms of that instrument would be mutually advantageous. That China is fully awake to her unfavorable position, and eager to be recognized as a responsible, self-contained power, is very apparent, though the methods by which an improvement is to be achieved are not by any means clear to her statesmen. The ugly mood she is now showing through the boycott should be taken as indicative of her actual feelings toward all foreigners, though in outward manifestation it seems to reveal her proverbial disposition to mistreat friends and truckle to enemies, and unreasonably find more fault with the mild and persuasive course of America than with other powers who are straightforward in letting her know their arguments are backed by military force. To most Americans it probably looks like base ingratitude on the part of the Chinese to boycott and do all in their power to ruin American trade in seeming forgetfulness of the many favors they have received. But it must be taken into consideration that the Chinese are every inch Orientals, who make no claims to sentimental benevolence, nor do they promise any rewards for its practice toward themselves. They look upon international relationships from a strictly business standpoint, and presuppose America will steer a course profitable to her own interests. They do not pretend to understand disinterested affection, nor do they ask charitable concessions to which any obligations are attached. From the Chinese standpoint they owe America nothing whatever. They made the best treaty they were able to with the United States Government; if further concessions could have been gained in the transaction they would not have been slow to take advantage of them. They would have been glad to have excluded American missionaries from the country, or at least to have confined their work to the treaty ports, and they see in their being allowed to preach in the interior a concession to America worth all the advantages obtained for themselves. What would America say to the Chinese demanding that Confucian missions be specially protected in that country, that its missionaries be exempt from trial in American courts and that their converts receive a semi-protection from the Chinese Government? The humiliation which this feature of the international treaties places upon China, especially when official status, as in the case of the Catholic missionaries, is demanded, and the trouble and expense of the officials through their litigation cases are considered, counterbalances, in the Chinese estimation, most if not all of the concessions and protective influence they receive from America or any other country. The harping by Americans upon the subject of gratitude for past favors only seems to irritate the Chinese and excite their contempt. They assume a bargain of the past is not a matter of present concern; the living question is to see which can get the better of the other in the new treaty. They are playing a deep game themselves, from which they hope to win something of permanent value; wherefore the agitators of the boycott are doing all in their power to keep alive the flagging interest in their cause until a new and, from their standpoint, a more satisfactory treaty is made. A thing is not highly estimated by an Oriental which is obtained with ease, or that is thrown at him as a gift. He can barter all day with a hard customer without losing his temper or feeling the least enmity, whatever the result.

The opium clause in the American treaty appears to be disliked rather than appreciated by the Chinese, probably because it implies that they are weaklings incapable of taking care of themselves. If the opium traffic was in violation of Chinese law, this attitude would be unobjectionable, but being legalized, it seems meddlesome and out of place. Were England willing to sacrifice the opium trade between India and China, it would be possible for the latter to legislate against the growing of the native drug and so redeem the nation from this terrible curse. It is open to question whether China would undertake to do this or not, since a heavy loss of revenue would result therefrom, as well as numerous opportunities for profits to the officials. At any rate, the American restriction upon its citizens concerning the opium traffic, under present conditions, or any conditions likely to ensue, serves no good purpose to the Chinese, but constitutes one of the disadvantages to American interests in China.

Among the disadvantages under which Americans in China are placed is the subsidizing by other foreign governments of the coast and river shipping of their nationals. They also acquire and develop land concessions, build jetties and other facilities at the treaty ports, and reduce all consular charges and formalities to a minimum. America does none of those things for her people, but holds on to methods that both handicap and discourage enterprise. As a rule the American consular fees are more than double those of other nationalities, while the red tape connected therewith is ofttimes most exasperating. Passports to go into the interior are issued by consuls of other nations, without formality or delay, and at a cost of a couple of Mexican dollars. Passports for Americans issued in China have to be forwarded to Peking for the Minister's countersignature, which causes a delay of from one to three months, according to locality, and costing several times the above amount. The author some three years ago obtained a passport through the American Consul at Hankow. It required more than a month to get the document back from Peking, and its cost was eight Mexican dollars.

The benefits interchanged between America and China are in several respects incongruous and one-sided. While the Chinese in America, with their entire freedom of competition with its citizens, are sending home millions of dollars of American gold every year, the Americans in China, not supported from home, with the many restrictions placed upon them, have hard work to make both ends meet. America is open from ocean to ocean for Chinese to engage in any enterprise they may choose. Americans in China can only undertake certain lines of business *in the treaty ports*, the rest of the country being closed against them. While China is demanding freer access to America for her people, she will not for a moment listen to any suggestion of greater freedom for American enterprise within her own borders. In fact, in addition to the boycott, she has done all possible to prevent American capital being invested in the country for any purpose. She cancelled the American concession to build the Hankow-Canton Railway, and at once went to England and France to borrow the money to complete it.

The policy of forceful pressure upon China will evidently be a necessity until the old system has entirely given way to something better, and the common people have become in a measure inspired with the spirit which prevails among the better class of foreign educated students. How long this will take is a question no one at the present day is competent to answer. A glance at the status of intelligence prevalent with the native population outside the treaty ports shows little to inspire hope that the present generation at least will witness much change. The only really hopeful feature is found in the foreign educated students, and the majority of these, when not under the direct influence of foreigners or the more conservative Japanese, are so violent or impractical in their ideas as to suggest more of fear than hope from them. However, that they have been able to exert a powerful and salutary influence upon the general government of China is very evident. The starting of a commission abroad to investigate foreign methods is largely a result of the representations of the students. As to how much they will learn is a matter for conjecture, since of the five high commissioners detailed not one speaks any foreign language or can be said to have even a rudimentary knowledge of the Western sciences. At Hankow some three years ago the author was present when the Commissioner of Customs received a call from one of the most prominent members of this commission, when a few remarks in English were passed concerning the Venezuelan difficulty then in process. On the Mandarin enquiring what was the topic of our conversation, his interpreter undertook to explain it to him, meanwhile using his best diplomacy to conceal his master's ignorance upon the situation. As we understood the language they were speaking it was easy for us to see that the Mandarin had never heard of Venezuela before, and that it was a hard task for the interpreter to give him any idea as to its size and in what part of the world it was located. It is to be feared that the minds of the Commissioners have waited too long for impressions of the great outer world to receive much during their journeys that will be of use in remodeling the Chinese Government. And yet, whether they achieve anything of purpose or not, the fact of their going shows that even Chinese officialdom has partly gotten over the belief that the Middle Kingdom is the greatest nation on earth, and that the civilization of the "outer barbarian" is not worth considering.

While the policy of compulsion is still, and will probably continue to be for yet many years, a necessity with the Western governments in their dealings with China, there evidently ought to be more and more consideration shown for the slowly increasing enlightenment of the country. This should be so tempered as to encourage Chinese progress upon conservative lines and to discourage the fanatical and violent elements that are ever ready to spring into being.

It would seem that Japan ought to establish a censorship of the literature which is now extensively printed in her domain and circulated in China, for much of this literature is of a vicious and revolutionary character, calculated to do naught but harm in the present formative stage of China's awakening.

The boycott, and the violence and losses to native commerce attendant upon it, is considered by most foreigners in China as a legitimate outcome of a weak and undignified policy wholly unsuited to Asiatics. It is generally believed that China will have to be legislated for and treaties forced upon her until she learns international manners and is able to maintain order in her domain. She will for yet many years have to be regarded as an unwieldy mass of humanity unable to control her many millions of ignorant and debased people, and which requires the military assistance of foreign powers to hold them in order. During the month of September last, when the rioters at Amoy were destroying the Custom House and proceeding to burn and loot other buildings, a British warship landed marines who charged and dispersed the mob and quickly restored order. The Chinese Government found no fault with this action, in fact was very thankful for it, since its own slow and bungling officials would have done nothing until heavy losses had been sustained. The Chinese officials have not, as a rule, the power at hand to quell a mob, or if so they fear serious consequences from attacking rioters. Rebellions are easily started in China and soldiers sent to quell them are readily won over to the enemy, if seeing better pay or chances for loot. The rebellion started several years ago in Kwangsi province is still pursuing its career of devastation and misery. The Mandarin in many respects has his hands tied in matters requiring force with any strong clan or social organization, and until the Imperial Government gains more strength and influence with the people, the help of foreign powers in controlling at least the coast and river population will be needed.

That America has played a losing game in her complex and, to the Chinese, confusing methods, is evidenced in the small number of Americans doing business in the Far East, as compared with other foreigners, in her ridiculous share of barely one per cent of the shipping tonnage on the coast, and also in the boycott which would never have assumed any serious proportions had forceful pressure been invoked instead of parleying. The

Chinese were diplomats enough to realize that America was fatally handicapped by her professions and policy in the past, the which assumed that a reasonable appeal to the Chinese government was sufficient to check all the wrong doings of the natives. Another nation, not handicapped by professed intentions of settling grievances by peaceful arbitration instead of by the sword, upon seeing the possibilities of the boycott, and that the Mandarins were encouraging it, would have simply sent a fleet to Shanghai or Canton held up the China merchant steamers and given the Peking government a week to end the agitation. It would have ended promptly, and to the mutual benefit of all concerned. It is freely admitted by all well informed Chinese that so far they have been much heavier losers through the boycott than the Americans, and they also admit a foreboding of evil for the internal affairs of their country as a result of the officials allowing the passions of the ignorant people to be fanned aflame by lying agitators. For whatever sorrows may come upon China in consequence of this fanatical agitation, the United States government will be held blameworthy, even by the Chinese themselves, for not having taken timely measures to stop it—not by conciliatory appeals, which only encourage their passions once they have entered upon a contest—but by determined display of naval force. Such a demonstration would have been of invaluable service to the Chinese government—in quelling an agitation dangerous to its own interests—for it is as yet, and is likely to continue for many years to come, virtually incapable of governing its own subjects on civilized lines, without foreign aid.

MONGOLIAN IDEAS OF DIPLOMACY.

The Mongolian mind is as a sealed book to most Westerners, so careful are its inner workings guarded by the race. In every day life they train themselves to disguise the innermost feelings and to simulate whatever disposition will best serve the purpose in view. In mercantile barter, or in the hiring of help or conveyances, the Mongolian always assumes an air of entire indifference as to whether he gets what he is bargaining for or not. He poses as if should he not get it remarkably cheap he can just as well do without it, all to the purpose of deceiving the other party as to his real motive. Thus they become experts at any kind of diplomatic bluff or deception and also quick to discern the disposition or designs of others. The naturally straightforward Caucasian is no match for them in this respect until he has had experience with their methods. In the boycott the Chinese diplomats have constantly presented to the Americans the spectacle of a grievously offended people trying to make known their feelings to a great and benevolent nation, and they have found hundreds of impulsive Americans to join in the chorus and proclaim the righteousness of their cause, that China has at last awakened to a sense of her national dignity, etc. While this play upon American sentiment has been going on, a very different phase of the drama has been enacted behind the scenes in China. The agitators paid by the funds of the coolie brokers and forced contributions from merchants have preached the doctrine broadcast that an effective boycott would compel America to repeal the Exclusion law and to admit Chinese the same as other imigrants. It is pointed out that if this happens millions of Chinese can go to America and get rich, just as a couple of hundred thousand have done in the past. The ignorant people are told that American prosperity depends on commerce, and that if this trade is suspended long enough the Americans will be starving. Some of the agitators have gone so far as to say that if a few hundred thousand Chinese can be settled in America, in time they will be able to control the politics of the country and eventually to overcome and exterminate the hated white men. Very little of the native exhortations upon this subject have been translated into English, but enough has come to light to show that the offended dignity of Chinese travelers, etc., landing in America has had little to do with the case, except to be made use of in the diplomatic campaign.

The white man must be of an exceptionally skeptical and suspicious disposition not to be more or less misled by the plausibility of Chinese diplomacy. They are experts at any kind of deception, and the ease with which they impose upon missionaries and others, even after they have been many years in the country, is remarkable. Many of the Chinese students and others of the race in America become good diplomatic agents for their country. They discover what the Americans desire them to be and for the time being act up to that standard, often encouraging in the good church people the fond hope that China will soon be Christianized. Ability to wield power, and especially the cunning to attain it, excites the highest admiration and respect in the Mongolian mind. Mongolians will respect a government, no matter how cruel or corrupt its methods, so long as it can enforce its decrees; but its influence with them wanes quickly through defeat, or even leniency, which latter is always classed with weakness. After the display of power by foreigners in the conquest of the Boxers, the desire of the natives for Western knowledge rapidly increased, and foreigners even in the distant interior were treated with a degree of respect previously unknown. This does not necessarily imply any greater love for foreigners or even a desire to be on friendly terms with them, but should rather be taken as evidence of increased respect for their power and an awakened sense of the necessity for China to acquire this peculiar power for her own protection as a nation. Now, while the Chinese are not blind to their present deficiencies, a majority of them still assume that their country holds, or should hold, an arrogant position as the greatest among the nations, and the attitude of what is termed "Young China" tends to encourage this assumption. Wherefore, nations making treaties with China will do well to take this sentiment into consideration and carefully avoid whatsoever smacks of the parental and protective sympathy order, or in any way places her along with small countries or helpless savages.

CONCERNING MISSIONARIES.

The position which America has assumed with regard to missionaries in China differs but little from that of the other Christian powers. From a Chinese point of view she has been comparatively liberal on the subject, especially as regards converts, and in demanding compensation for lives lost and property destroyed, and the only point of criticism they make concerns the general principle of missionary effort. American missionaries at the present time in China number about one thousand, and, estimating their salaries at one hundred dollars each per month, and their expenditures on schools, hospitals and churches at nearly as much they may be said to cost America annually more than two million dollars. This large number of intelligent Americans are spending the best part of their lives in China, struggling against many adverse conditions, and much American money as well, in trying to convert the Chinese to Christian ideals. This seems a clear sacrifice on the part of America, since China expends nothing in a benevolent way outside her own domains. From a Chinese standpoint, however, it is a large concession to America to allow her missionaries to propagate their doctrines in China at all. The good accomplished, they say, does not compensate the evils which the country suffers from their presence. These evils are chiefly due, they admit, to the converts, who are generally looked upon as such for the material advantages derived through connection with the missions. Without the inducement of material advantages, they argue, converts would be few indeed. Their arguments, however, can be said to be neutralized by the proposition that if the convert uses his connection with missionaries to protect himself from the rapacity of the Mandarins, or even to encroach upon his neighbors, he is nevertheless a Chinese subject and Chinese officialdom shows pitiable weakness in not being able to deal with its own people, whatever their cult or creed, in a manner through which foreign governments could find no occasion for protest. It can be said that the converts, however despicable they may be as a class, are never so bad as to justify extermination or even the petty spite and annoyance to which they are frequently subjected. Since it has been proved almost impossible for a convert to obtain justice in a native court without missionary aid it has come about that every missionary in charge of a station is placed in the position of an attorney, and where converts are numerous the dealing with law cases occupies a large share of his time. This state of things had much to do with the demand of the Catholic priests to be empowered with the rank and dignity to compel the Mandarins to deal honorably with the converts.

The statistics of the Protestant missions in China show about two hundred and fifty thousand converts and communicants. Some allowance for exaggeration of numbers, at least in the case of those termed "communicants" will probably not be amiss. The following, which is the substance of a story related to the author by a missionary friend, illustrates the opportunities and temptations to overstate the number of inquirers, or applicants, for church membership. The missionary in question visited a certain village in Southern China whose "head man," so-called, happened to be a rather strong minded woman. To this personage the advantages of Christianity were so eloquently expounded that she asked to have the whole of the two hundred odd inhabitants of the village registered as Christians. To the suggestion that there should be due consideration of the subject by each individual concerned, she replied that it did not matter, that they would all do as she willed. When, however, in the course of a month or so the missionary called again, the village gates were closed against him. The head woman had changed her mind and there was not a Christian in the place. It is through the impractical and often whimsical methods and reports of the missionaries that they are brought into disparagement with other foreigners in China. They in many instances seem to have become so wrapped up in the interests of the class of natives with whom they work as to feel neither regard for the rest of the population of China nor for what is of vital importance to their own country. Most of them would like, on returning to America, to bring a dozen or so of their converts along for the pleasure of pointing out to them the glories of American civilization, and so they find fault with the Exclusion law which interferes with this childish desire. It is natural, however, that in such surroundings as most of them are placed their minds should become warped and out of harmony with practical events. A missionary who undertakes to preach upon the great problems of the higher civilization, or even upon the essential spirit of religion, will find himself misunderstood by the primitive natives and will make few converts, while a small politician who concerns himself with trivial household affairs, and promises a measure of protection to their few belongings, will have many flocking to his standard. Among missionaries there are to be found a few astute and scheming minds who are generally regarded as more or less unscrupulous, especially in reports upon the progress of their work, but who are at the same time the successful organizers and gainers of a native following; but the majority are so ultra religious as to make them appear the most impractical people on earth. With Mongolians, who give little or no evidence of the higher spiritual perceptions, the former type of missionary will prevail, but with Caucasians only those of the latter disposition are successful in making converts. Thus, a thoroughly practical business minister usually shows woeful lack of spiritual enthusiasm, and his preaching is attended by meagre results. This may be said to be due to the fact that religion, in its highest sense, ignores the baser world and concerns itself wholly with the supermundane and spiritual. How to harmonize a practical, enterprising life with the exalted principles of religion is one of the great problems. Christ advised a certain rich man who aspired to the higher spiritual life to sell all he had and give to the poor, thereby giving it as His opinion that material and spiritual prosperity are diametrically opposed to each other. What this has to do with America's official dealings with China is that the results of missionary work there, viewed from a disinterested standpoint, show a confused mixture of good and evil, with the latter, up to the present date, greatly in the ascendency, and that if missionary effort were not encouraged by foreign governments, or were confined to the treaty ports, many serious complications would be averted. It is the general verdict of foreign residents in China, not connected with the missions, that foreign women and children at least should not be taken into the interior. Free and disinterested discussion of the missionary question with the Chinese literati invariably brings forth the admission that while the missions do a great amount of benevolent work and seem to them inspired with every desire to benefit China, owing to their drawing hard and fast lines between their followers and other natives, very serious consequences are likely to ensue. As a rule only such members of the literati as have no foreign education will give their views freely upon this subject, it being useless to question those who speak English, since they are usually beneficiaries of the missions or of foreigners in some capacity, and so realize it as bad grace to pass any adverse criticisms.

There is but one course for the missionaries to pursue to avert disastrous clashings with the natives and endangering the future peace of China, and that is to teach no creed doctrines whatever, but to confine their efforts to the regeneration of Confucianism with the ethics of Christian civilization. What is broadly termed Confucianism may be said to cover the Buddhist, Taoist, and other native religions, although the Chinese themselves make certain distinctions between them. From a strictly Chinese point of view only the literati, or at least such as are able to comprehend the ancient classics, are true Confucians. However, as practically all Chinese, unless the Mahommedans of the northwest be excepted, take part in the same ceremonials, it is proper enough for general purposes, for Confucianism to be termed the religion of China. Now in esoteric Confucianism there is nothing immoral or in any sense repugnant to Christianity; the pagan ceremonials prevalent have little to do with the classical teachings of Confucius or his disciples, neither are they advocated by Buddhism proper. Such Joss ceremonials (like those practised in the basic forms of Christianity) are simply an outgrowth of gross ignorance and superstition. Hence it would seem that if Confucianism proper be accepted as the fixed and permanent religion of China, and the work of Christian missionaries be confined to the infusion of new life into its time-worn doctrines, in connection with schools and other benevolent institutions, the good will of all classes of Chinese can be relied upon, and the dark suspicions of foreign designs in this connection will be allayed. For such work many of the missionaries at present in China are wholly unsuited, they being so hide bound in their respective creeds as to incapacitate them from teaching Christian ethics upon any broad or comprehensive basis. The numerous dissensions which occur between the converts of different church denominations are pointed at by thoughtful Chinese as evidence of a dangerously antagonistic spirit. Catholic and Protestant converts occasionally have pitched battles with each other, and were their numbers sufficiently strong these collisions might develop into civil war. Such conflicts under present conditions are generally regarded in the nature of clan fights, which are common occurrences in China, and simply show that the converts regard themselves as clansmen for mutual benefits obtainable therefrom under the semi barbaric social system of the country.

As has already been suggested, the Mongolian is practically devoid of the faculty of intuitive spiritual enthusiasm, which is present either in a dormant or more or less perfected state in the Caucasian mind. If this hypothesis is correct the Chinese can never become Christians as the term applies to conscientious Caucasians. It is possible they might eventually adopt Christianity as a creed, but whether it would elevate the national character in the least is open to grave doubt. They have degraded Buddhism to a mere system of idol worship, while the philosophy of the Confucian classics is understood by but few and its principles are practised by none.

REASONS FOR THE EXCLUSION OF MONGOLIANS.

Since the enactment of the first effective Exclusion law in 1888, the Chinese population in the United States has been reduced from some 300,000 to 120,000. With the departure of so large a proportion of these people from the American shores the strong sentiment against their presence which formerly prevailed has been somewhat softened, and there is a disposition to relax the barriers, if not to the extent of their increase in the country, at least to permit the present number being maintained. Those who can see any profit to themselves in Chinese immigration are eager to take advantage of this sentiment to make their influence felt in Washington. Missionary and other sentimentalists are also at work on the side of the Chinese in their effort to secure more favorable terms. Their loudest plea is that American commerce would be greatly benefited through the presence in America of more of the merchant and student classes of Chinese.

As regards students coming to America to be educated little need be said, that is if they are genuine students with means to pay their own way. And yet it is a fact that a majority of these students, on returning to China, become the most pronounced enemies of America. As a youth in an American college, the recipient of special attentions from every one, the Chinese student is good natured and calculated to make a favorable impression upon every one, but when afterward facing the stern realities of life in his own country, his disposition changes, and if finding himself more popular through denouncing foreigners, he is likely to exaggerate every ill feature of the land he can pretend to know all about. As for Chinese merchants, whose wealth and influence some people have proclaimed would so greatly benefit America, when viewed in detail they are not what distant imagination pictures them to be. There are practically no Chinese merchants with capital of their own to invest who have any desire to come to America. The rate of interest on money in China is at least fifty per cent higher than in the United States and the opportunities for profitable investments are also greater, so that in the nature of things at the present time the tendency is for capitalists to come to instead of to go from the Far East. There are, of course, millions of Chinese eager to go to the United States and there make the money to become merchants. Every Chinaman who has attained to the rank of a merchant in America would be glad to bring over as many of his relatives as possible to assist in the expansion of his business, and who would succeed himself when he retires to the Flowery Kingdom. The real Chinese merchant from China would be utterly helpless in America without underlings as well as patrons of his own race, and this would necessitate letting in more coolies, or those slightly above the coolie class.

There are already enough Chinese merchants in America to meet all the demands of the Mongolian population, and surely no one desires to see them taking the place of white merchants or manufacturers in the general trade of the country. There are many reasons why Mongolian competitors in the internal trade of America should be discouraged. For instance, they will employ no white help if it can be avoided, their living expenses are not much above those of the coolies, and they would contribute nothing toward the upkeep of schools, churches and charitable institutions. Consequently they could easily undersell and drive Americans out of business. There is no merchant on earth more expert in the adulteration of food than the Chinese. Every article of food in China capable of adulteration is so dealt with, and an entire lack of conscience marks the methods used. Thrusting sand down the throat of a fowl and filling its crop to add to its weight, and the skillful insertion of slices of an inferior quality of meat in a roast of beef or mutton are common practices, while milk, which they absolutely refuse to sell pure, is diluted with whatever kind of pond or well water happens to be convenient. Vermicelli and other cereal productions which will absorb a good deal of moisture without detection are spattered over with water from the merchant's mouth to give it extra weight when delivered to a customer. Do Americans want these merchants, who are schooled in every conceivable device for defrauding their fellow beings, as competitors with white men, the majority of whom are honest in their dealings, who have respectable families, and who in general help to keep up the present high civilization of the country? Why should the Chinese merchant be allowed free competition in America when the American merchant in China is under so many restrictions? There can be cited but few Americans who, even prior to the boycott, have prospered in the Chinese treaty ports, and these have been most lavish in their expenditures for local improvements and charities. They employ many Chinese assistants and go-betweens in their dealings, so that it can truthfully be said that the natives have in every case made ten times as much out of the business concerned as the American merchant. No American retail merchant can possibly exist in China proper in competition with the natives, and, even as wholesalers in the treaty ports, the best share of their profits goes to the latter. Since the American merchant in China has to get on with native help, it seems no more than fair that Chinese merchants in America be told to employ the white help of the country instead of sending to China for it. As a matter of fact all the mercantile transactions which now take place, or may hereafter develop between the two countries, can prosper with no more than a hundred or so either of American merchants being located in China or a like number of Chinese merchants in America.

The sentiment prevailing in American policy since the Civil War, which proclaims the universal brotherhood of mankind and endeavors to eliminate racial distinctions, is mainly responsible for a peculiar leniency toward China, regardless of her shortcomings, which would hardly be shown toward any Christian power. The reverse of this sentiment, frequently stigmatized as unreasoning race prejudice, which is manifest in the Southern States and in the West, and which is responsible for the laws against intermarriages between whites and negroes and whites and Mongolians, separate traveling and hotel accommodations, etc., form the backbone of the natural as well as philosophical opposition to colored immigration, whatever the nationality concerned. It is oftimes asserted that the laboring men are the only opponents of the free admission of Mongolians to the country, and this has come to be a fixed belief in the minds of the Chinese. In contradiction of this it may be safely asserted that the money powers so interested could easily break down the comparatively feeble barrier which laboring men can oppose were it not for the support of an aroused race prejudice in which is enlisted some of the deepest thinking minds of the country. This prejudice (race loyalty would be a better term) is as strongly marked in the disinterested and non-sentimental wealthy and middle classes, of the South and West at least, as among the laboring men, though the latter are forced to greater energy in all exclusion efforts by the dire necessity of their position. Competition with coolie labor in the West prognosticates for the laborer all the evils of competition with negro labor in the South, while the social problem involved in having the country teeming with yellow men, brings forth the as yet less vigorous though equally earnest protest of all men capable of feeling any regard for the future of the nation. It thus appears that the sentiment which proposes to ignore racial distinctions and would give the same opportunities to Mongolians as to white immigrants, comes from the Eastern States where there have never been sufficient numbers of any colored people to arouse race antipathy. Caucasians being naturally the most charitable and humane of all men, it requires such special conditions as prevail in the South and West to arouse in them the baser prejudices which are found ever present in other races. Should negroes or Mongolians invade the East in such proportionate numbers as obtain in the South and West, race prejudice, now latent there, would come to the fore and special legislation against them would become popular. Australia and British Columbia have had sufficient experience with the dark races to bring forth this latent antipathy, as shown by the former colony's rigid exclusion of East Indians, South Sea Islanders and Mongolians, and the latter's poll tax of five hundred dollars a head upon Chinese. The latter has also made several attempts to exclude Japanese immigrants, but so far has been frustrated by the Canadian Government.

It is scarcely two years since Chinese coolies were admitted to South Africa. but a cry has already been heard from that unfortunate land for their deportation. Commercial England will probably not heed the cry and the white race will have to face the alternative of emigrating or entering upon another deadly conflict with the British Government.

There is every reason to believe that Mongolian immigration is destined to be a permanent and serious question for the whole of North America. Whatever the present or any future American Congress may do to weaken the exclusion barriers will only serve to excite the Orientals to stronger efforts for further victories in this direction. The Japanese Government may for a time do something to divert its emigrants into Korea and Manchuria, in the hope of expanding its empire in that direction. But their success in this grand enterprise would mean the eventual ability to bring stronger power to bear upon America in forcing down all barriers to their free immigration with an infinitely larger population to draw upon. America's best hope for the maintenance of her present race and civilization against a possible future mighty Asia lies in the rapid increase of her white population in the West. That would stop the present cry for more laborers, and help also to dispel the dream of the Mongolians of ultimate conquest of the continent. Diplomacy will necessarily have to be made a more careful study than hitherto by America, in order to combat the many schemes the Mongolians will try in the interest of their colonists. If military force be impracticable, then boycott will have to be met with counter boycott or tariff legislation that will bring equal harm upon the aggressor. When the Oriental finds that a boycott can be worked both ways, and that mutual trade relations are the more to be desired, he will drop that form of persuasion and accept the inevitable with good grace.

The fertility and strong parental qualities of the Mongolians are important factors to be considered in connection with their immigration. The average Mongolian woman will bring a child into the world every year and, according to their means, no people on earth show better care for their offspring. No babies are destroyed in China because of dislike of the burdens entailed in their bringing up; the meanest coolie will rear all the children he can support. A woman defective in child-bearing is looked upon as accursed and only fit to be a servant; and should her husband be possessed of the means he will not hesitate to relegate her to that position and look for another wife. The author, during his stay in Swatow, became acquainted with a wealthy Chinese who had married his fourth wife during a period of a dozen years and yet had no children. This misfortune was looked upon as due to some malignant influence, for the banishment of which many experiments, mainly of the Joss ceremonial order, were tried. He was the laughing stock of his native village, and his mental perturbation over the fact of his being childless was most pitiable. Aside from the priesthood there are practically neither old bachelors nor old maids among Orientals, the religious obligation to become parents approaches a mania with them all, and that they will outstrip the Caucasians of America in race propagation admits of no doubt should their colonies there once obtain a firm footing. Owing to this peculiar mania, which with the Chinese is intensified by the Confucian doctrine of the necessity for posterity to pray their souls out of purgatory, the better classes of Chinese are married when mere children. Parents are so eager to secure to themselves and their offspring the spiritual blessings promised by their faith, as well as the peculiar honor which obtains in Chinese society through the birth of grandchildren, that they will seldom wait for their sons to complete their education, according to foreign standards, to have them married. These early marriages, taken together with the ignoring of the law of natural or love selection, doubtless accounts for much of the stupidity and physical defectiveness of the Chinese, in comparison with other branches of the Mongolian family. Thus, while the upper classes of white Americans, for reasons often not creditable to themselves, are poor in offspring, Mongolians, no matter how wealthy they may become, appear to lose none of the primitive desire for a great posterity. It may be said that the principle of the survival of the fittest, from an industrial and physical endurance standpoint, would give the world to the Mongolians, but that for spiritually progressive and humanitarian reasons, it ought to continue to be dominated by the Caucasians. Survival of the latter, who, generally speaking, live for more than mere material aims, depends upon their protection from close competitive contact with the former, who practically live only for the baser functions of a semi-animal existence.

Americans have been misled as to the capacities of the Mongolians as colonists because the Chinese immigrants have shown but small increase through birthrate. The causes of this poor showing are not far to seek. In the first place, the Chinese have been dissatisfied in the presence of superior numbers of white men, with whose laws and customs they have no sympathy, so that few entertained the intention of remaining in the country longer than necessary to get what would be to them a fortune in China. They may be said thus far to have yielded to the general law that the dominating presence of any race of mankind acts as a discouraging blight upon all others who by reason of their blood and civilized standard are unassimilative. A sufficient increase of the Mongolian element on the Pacific Coast would have a similarly discouraging effect upon the white inhabitants. It would also turn back the tide of white immigration in like manner as the presence of the negro in the South repels white settlers in that region. The Mongolian, however, cannot be so completely discouraged in immigration for the reason that his own country is overcrowded and the opportunity to get rich in America will serve to hold his racial antipathies in abeyance. The aversion of the Chinese immigrants to the white Americans would be endured in patience were they able to bring their wives and families into the country in sufficient numbers. Once get real colonies of them started, where they can build their villages and enjoy their customs in their own peculiar way, and the question of their colonizing power will no longer be a doubtful one. The Japanese are much less exclusive than the Chinese, their women are more intelligent and are allowed more liberties, and there is every evidence to show that they will colonize readily, even in the midst of the white Americans. Their adaptability in this respect makes them possibly more to be feared than the Chinese, for while they are always loyal to their own people, they will intermingle freely with the whites until their numbers are sufficiently augmented for communities of their own. In this free intermingling they become alert to every advantage for themselves and every weakness of the white man, and efficient spies and helpers of the diplomats of their own country. So long as but few Mongolian women succeed in getting into America there is no practical danger of their forming separate colonies; the natural prejudice between the races can be relied upon under present conditions to prevent intermarriages on an extensive scale.

Had the white colonists to the United States been cut off from the European nations when they were only a million or so in numbers, they would in course of time have intermarried with the Indians and Negroes, and a mixed race would have resulted, as in the case of the Mongolian Huns, Turks and Russian Tartars. This intermixture of inferior blood would have lowered the skull development of the Anglo-Americans to the level of that of the modern Huns, Turks and Tartar-Slavs, and their civilization would never have risen above that of the Balkan States or of Central America. If Central and South America can get pure Caucasian immigrants in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the Mongol and Negroid elements now predominant there, their civilization will rise accordingly; without such immigration the intellectual and moral status of those regions will improve but little upon present conditions. America can not get too many immigrants from Great Britain, Germany and Scandinavia, where the Caucasian blood is comparatively pure, nor can she for her own good get too few from any part of Asia, Africa, or even from Southern Europe. In Southern Europe the Caucasian blood has been largely diluted with that of the Asiatic and the African; and while such immigrants are far more desirable than pure Mongolians, the inferior and anarchistic strain in their blood speaks strongly against them.

Those who seek to instil confusion into anti-Mongolian sentiment invariably ask the question, why exclude the industrious law-abiding Chinese or Japanese and allow the ferocious and anarchistic aliens from Southern Europe to come in? The answer is that the immigration of neither of these elements should be allowed, for the simple reason that one is pure Mongol and the other part Mongol. While the part Mongol is a fiercer and more dangerous man than the pure Mongol, it is really the better choice to take him, because of the white strain he possesses than to undertake to assimilate a straight-out alien. There may be enough pure Caucasian blood in America to assimilate and ennoble a few million mixed blood people from Southern Europe, but not enough to so deal with a like number of pure Mongolians. A mixed race, or ever growing Mongolian colonies in their midst, is what the Americans have to consider who care aught for posterity. Had our forefathers thought a little more upon this subject when they were importing negro slaves a different state of things would now be present in the South. No Civil War would have ever taken place, no billion dollar national debt, no hundred million dollars a year pension roll, while the South as well as the North, would have remained a white man's country. But commercial considerations won the day and the cry that cheap labor was necessary to develop the resources of the South was the one which prevailed. And the resources were developed, yes out of existence, as may be seen in the deserted cabins and defunct cotton fields which abound in that section. As a result of this vigorous enterprise with slave labor, we find one-half of the population of the South of the intellectual and moral standard of Dahomey and the other half, although of Caucasian lineage, dispirited and enfeebled through the presence in their midst of an inferior and servile people. The plaintive cry of commercialism to-day is the same as that which went up a century ago for more slaves. Exploiters of shipping, railway, mining and other interests see untold wealth (for themselves) in freer Mongolian immigration, and those interests are able to "influence" Congress in their favor. It is for the labor organizations of the country and those patriots not so blinded by the craze for money making as to forget the permanent well being of the land, to make the fight against the yellow hordes now eagerly seeking admission.

In considering Mongolian immigration, the United States must naturally be concerned with the contiguous territories of Canada and Mexico. If Mongolians are allowed free entrance to either of those countries, they cannot be permanently restrained from coming over the border lines. If only coming over at the rate of a dozen a week they may be gathered up and deported, but if it be at the rate of a hundred or more a day, it would soon bankrupt the government to undertake their arrest and deportation? The Anglo-Japanese alliance is already bearing fruit in Canada and Australia, where the British government is exerting itself to break down all impediments to free Japanese immigration. That alliance is ominous for the United States, not only in the matter of naval command of the Pacific Ocean, but also as likely to force unlimited Asiatic immigration into British America. An East Indian influx into Canada has now set in, every steamer from Hongkong bringing a dozen or more of these aliens to Vancouver. The Mongoloid blood of Mexico exceeds the Caucasian strain, and there is consequently a stronger sympathy for Asiatics than for white men. The extensive colonization of Asiatics in that country will make Mexico a permanent enemy of the United States, that is if the latter remains a white man's country. The colonization of Mexico by pure Caucasians would tend to bring the two countries closer together and to insure lasting peace between them. What applies to Mexico applies in a measure to Cuba and other West India islands, and, in a lesser degree to the whole of Central America.

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Our National Tendency and Its Goal

By JOHN E. BENNETT.

In pursuing an economic subject we should bear always in mind one fact, that is: that economic law, unlike municipal law, takes no account of political boundaries. We may as a nation adopt laws which we conceive to be to our particular interest, giving us a benefit as against the people across a border; and applying these to practice they may seem to us for a time, and perhaps for a long time, to work to our advantage; but if such statutes do not square with economic law, we shall, sooner or later in the life of the nation, awaken to the fact that these enactments, which we created to prosper ourselves to the detriment of the stranger, have really made victims of ourselves, and they have done us as much injury as they imposed upon those against whom they were aimed.

I use concerning such statutes the phrase "unless they square with economic law;" for there may be some enactments, devised for our benefit against the interests of the outlander, which may accord with economic law. Take for instance the *cordon sanitaire;* here we have a provision planned for our safety against the introduction amongst us of disease. The country will better and more permanently prosper through the effective interposition of such regulations. But it is the nature of all devices of that character that they are temporary in duration; if they were other than expedients, if the prevalence of cordons became the settled policy of the nation, it may well be doubted whether we should not attain to more of safety by admitting even disease and combating it as we combat that which arises amongst us, rather than suffer the withering and subsiding processes of isolation.

The principle, therefore, which underlies the enactments of Chinese exclusion in 1882, that "the chance to get a job is determined by the condition of the 'labor market'," which has turned us in like manner against the Japanese and other nations of the Orient, and now is exerting itself in its ordinary and progressive course against the nations of Europe and the rest of the world in the Burnett-Dillingham bills*—this principle manifests itself internally amongst ourselves and against ourselves with as much injury as it produces against the people from without. On this Pacific Coast we are experiencing in a high degree the harm which attends the exercise in two directions of this erroneous force. We are all feeling what it means not to have the Oriental peoples amongst us; not to have free movement of peoples back and forth between the two continents. Where we would have great and rich cities, enormous industries, magnificent enterprise of all kinds, the harbors filled with shipping and traffic bristling with energy in all directions, we now have small towns on our coast, our industries are of minor importance, in many branches no industries at all; we have empty or near empty harbors, traffic weak and unsatisfactory, and our people (excepting the labor unions) supplicating immigration from Europe, while turning their backs upon the real, proper and natural region of immigration to us, the Orient.

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*The literary test anti-immigration measures.

Most singularly the spell under which our people tolerate the maintenance of these warped conditions, when such abundance and prosperity would pour in upon us by merely opening the doors to the people of the Pacific, is the idea, now well nigh a fetish, that for some reasons of race the Oriental peoples are obnoxious to us and "our civilization." That the idea has not the slightest basis in truth may be recognized from the fact that there is scarcely a man of those who shout it loudest, and who most strongly urge it as a reason for keeping out the Orientals, who would not gladly remove himself and his family to the Orient, to China, to Japan or India, and there dwell in and amongst those people, if his income be thereby increased somewhat above that which he experiences here—increased even to that point where it would probably be through the increased business and prosperity which would be visited upon this Coast by the free coming and going of these people. And if it should occur that there was an individual amongst us whose feelings against Japanese and Chinese was so bitter that he would not accept an offer otherwise inviting to take up his residence in either of their countries, we would look upon such a man as a crank, a warped and narrow pervert, and even those strongest in their objections to the entry to this country of Orientals, would so regard him. We can see at a glance by this test, therefore, that there is no real objection to the incoming and residence amongst us of the Orientals, on the score of their individualities. A man who has no aversion to himself residing amongst them in their own country can have no real ground for opposing their residence in this country. If he has such it is altogether imaginary, a sheer unreasoning bias, which it is disgraceful for a nation to treat as the basis of law.

The people of this Coast do not realize the loss they are constantly experiencing by the prevalence of the policy of exclusion of the Orientals. It requires a considerable effort of the constructive imagination to become aware of the state of the public under a different public condition from that which prevails. When, therefore, I say that if Chinese exclusion had never been enacted the business today moving on this Coast would be vastly greater than it is, doubled, trebled, perhaps quadrupled, one might doubt that the statement is true. If it were generally recognized for a moment that it was true, there would be a stampede on this Coast to repeal the exclusion acts, quite similar to the rushes we have experienced here in the quest for gold, and having at their end a like purpose, namely, gain.

But the truth of the statement may be readily seen. Upon one fact all agree, viz.: that if exclusion did not exist Oriental laborers would come to this Coast in considerable numbers. The very numbers with which it is supposed they would come comprised one of the large grounds for refusing them entry. Experience has shown us also that they are very industrious—their industry, in the perverted arguments of the exclusionists, being put forward as a cause for keeping them out, since by that very industry they are supposed to supplant the less industrious white in competition for employment. Very well: here we have numbers and here we have industry. Now take the rate at which the Chinese and Japanese were coming thither at the time they were shut out by exclusion, and the rate at which they were annually returning to their own countries, add to this a proportionate annual increase as the industry of the coast arose to demand their presence, and we may get a fair idea of what the Oriental population of the Coast states would be today had exclusion never been enacted. As I compute, it would certainly be in excess of two millions of people, over and above our present Oriental population, which are very few. Consider now the productive force of these people, devoting their energies to industry, many of them with modern appliances and under American direction, and if it shall be said that their contributions to society over and beyond their own consumption would amount in value to an average of one dollar per day, I think we shall be very moderate. Here then, we have two million people yielding two million dollars daily, in a year of 360 days, yielding seven hundred and twenty millions of dollars.

Who would be getting this $720,000,000 annually? The "capitalists"? What could the "capitalists" do with it, if they got it, which they would not? They could not eat it; or at least, not more than would appease their several appetites, and they would not throw it into the sea. Those who would get it would be the people of this Coast, and it would pass to the added prosperity and enrichment of every man, woman and child on this Coast—everywhere, who was a member of society. By adding to abundance it would be increasing industrial opportunity, multiplying jobs to the white laborer, and calling for his services in higher orders of employment than are now accessible to him. It would do harm to no one; it would do immense benefit to all.

But along with this increase of 2,000,000 to the population of our Coast there would have come a much larger increase to our white population than has been the case. The census of California for the decades between 1860 and 1880, when Chinese immigration was free, shows a large white influx, nearly nine times greater than that of the Chinese.* No statement in that ganglion of falsehoods which passed for exclusionists' arguments

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*The figures were as follows:

	1860	1870	1880
White	323,177	499,424	767,181
Chinese	34,933	49,310	75,218

Total white increase in the three decades: 444,004.
Total Chinese increase in the three decades: 50,283.

was ever more false than the statement that the incoming of the Oriental prevented the white from entering the state; such never was a fact and never could be a fact. Consider the condition of Hawaii, to which we are constantly referred by the exclusionists as the *vade mecum* of awful places, where the Oriental toils in the presence of the white. Turn out the 90,000 Orientals from those islands, and how long would the 30,000 whites remain? Why, in ninety days there would be scarcely enough left to furnish keepers for the silent mills and the deserted buildings.

So that when we contemplate the $720,000,000 of added production to this Coast per year, and add to it the increased production which would be occasioned by the added white population, albeit they worked in higher forms of industry than the Orientals, then contemplate the magnitude of the shipping that would go on in our ports in the forwarding of our surplus production in exchange for the products of the Orient, and the transportation incident to all this industry, we can then catch some faint glimpse of what this Coast would be today, industrially, financially and in every other way that our modern civilization knows, if the exclusion laws had never been enacted.

But I spoke of the effect of economic law exerting itself against us where we have directed enactments contrary to this law, against the foreigner. Economic law is, indeed, a form of natural law; and statute law to be justifiable must be in accord with economic law, or with moral law. Consider the decalogue. It is a code of economic and moral law. Does it bear upon anybody to obey these laws? Who wishes to disobey them? ''Thou shalt not steal;'' this is an economic law. Who desires to steal? ''Thou shalt not covet;'' this is a moral law. Do we not recognize it a vice to covet? When, therefore, our legislatures enact these provisions into codes, they do no violence to what we conceive to be our liberties; we feel no restrictions placed upon us; but when the legislature says that one man shall not cross a border and reside with his fellow man because he is of another race than ourselves, that idea shocks us; we recognize in it at once a high-handed assault of some kind upon human liberty and individual freedom, and it requires a long time of hammering upon our consciences and our susceptibilities with this and that assertion, which we do not examine as to truth, before our minds are so molded as to allow that perhaps there does exist some kind of condition amongst the white people, that nobody else can live in the country with them.

But when we violate economic law, as we have done in enacting the exclusion statutes, we do so because of an erroneous economic precept; and this works as much within the nation as without; works, as I have said, as much against us as against the foreigner; for we cannot have conditions based upon economic truth within the nation, and statutes built upon economic error operating against those without. When, therefore, we passed the exclusion laws upon the hypothesis that the incoming Chinese would take the job away from the white man, had that legislation been the product of reason and not of ''politics,'' Congress would have analyzed this doctrine and applied and traced its operation and effects amongst ourselves within our nation and considered how it worked here. Had this been done the doctrine never would have been set up against the stranger.

The law of competition, as it is applied in the realm of commodities, does not obtain in the region of human service. The most widespread harm attends and follows the conducting of affairs upon the theory that it does. The inevitable result of the operation of industry upon the assumption that the same rule applies in both spheres is to create monopolies, and monopoly becoming intolerable, and moving still along the same line, to bring about socialism; and socialism, were it once in existence, would soon pass into military autocracy, and we should then be back again into the pale of ancient despotisms and tyrannies. So that by successive processes, advancing in a diametrically straight line, we can premise the decline of modern civilization. Not only is it not improbable that modern civilization will decline, but it is definitely certain to do so through the direction of the movement upon which it is now proceeding. It is only if we are wise enough to perceive the direction, and to know the cause of that trend, and knowing, have the courage to correct it, that this calamity to our children can be averted. Civilization has repeatedly risen and fallen in the world; and while that which succeeded has each time been greater and grander than its predecessor, yet the fact is that each civilization preceding the present did fall; and there were long years of subsidence and quiescence, when the state of the highest man was barbaric, before the forces of uplift gathered strength to push man again forward into a higher goal. Man's curve of progress from the beast to the highest modern mind has been upward, but the line is not continuously so; it is extremely serrated, abounding in peaks and depressions, the troughs marking long periods when war and raven raged, when public order was swept aside, when property existed in but slight degree because its possession was insecure, and when man was far more safe in solitude than he was in the presence of his fellows.

A little meditation will convince anyone that the idea of competition in the sale of commodities and competition in the ''sale of labor'' is not the same, as they are generally thought to be, and as the whole industrial realm of the world believes, and acts upon. In fact the principle governing the two zones is, in a sense, opposite in each. Let us see: I want a thousand barrels of sugar. I specify its grade, its polarization, the place where it must be delivered. As between the sugars that are tendered the only ground of conflict can be the price; I accept the lowest bid and that ends the transaction. The sugar passes into my possession and is consumed; there are a thousand barrels less sugar in the world. The bidders for this sale were competitors. But assume that there are a thousand men working in my candy factory; and another thousand men from without, say from Vermont or Georgia, come along and apply for the jobs of the thousand whom I employ; they are all of a grade of laborers equal to those in the factory, and they offer to labor, to perform the same service as the men in the works at a less wage than I pay the others. I accept this offer, discharge the men I have and take on the new set at the lesser wage. Is that competition? The whole world today says it is. It is not. What is the difference? The difference is this: that whereas, when I took the sugar there were withdrawn a thousand barrels from the realm of sugar, when I take on the new men and let off the old, there are no men withdrawn from the realm of labor. The sugar is consumed and converted into something else; but the men are not consumed, neither those I took on nor those I let out. What becomes of the men I let out? Do they starve and die? They would have to do so to parallel the instance of the sugar; for in the case of the sugar there was obliteration, and there would also have to be obliteration of the men to make the two operations balance or parallel. The men go off into other lines of work.

Let us follow these men thus let out of the candy factory. Do they work at their new occupations at less wages than they worked at the factory? Some do, perhaps; some receive equal wages, and some receive higher wages through finding higher phases of employment. It is the process of nature, operating in the lower orders of employment, that the tenure of the lowest jobs is insecure; that men working therein are frequently shifted out of them, and compelled to look for something else, and something better because something higher. You cannot do a young and healthy man more harm than place him in a low order of employment and make his wages steady and his job secure—the very thing that the labor union regards as most necessary to the man to have, and which it is organized most certainly to attain.

But what determined the wages to be paid the men when they went to another place and applied for a job? Was it not supply of men, and number of men of the same grade each bidding against the other for the new job, that determined the price of the wages that should be received by the successful bidder? Assuredly it was. Well, then; why is *not* the opportunity to labor fixed and determined by supply and demand of laborers?—and here we come to the crux of the whole question, viz.:—what determined demand and supply of laborers? What is it that draws off the competitors from the doors of that shop and leaves the applicant standing there alone? The union says there is no such thing as ''drawing off;'' that the only thing that determines the chance to get a job at that shop is the demand that has come upon the shop from without for its products; if this demand is large they will take on more men; if it be small, it will need fewer men, or none at all. If the product of that shop be all used up by the public, there is a call on the shop for more goods and they take on more men; if a fire or flood sweeps away the stocks in the stores in town, such stores will have to have more goods, and the factory gets more orders, and rush orders, and it takes on more men; and this is the only way the men can get a job, and the cheapest man would get it—were it not for the labor union which fixes the scale of wages, and will not let those men bid against each other, will not even let two men go to the factory, if there be a job for but one, for each man must take his turn.

This has the appearance of truth; and men—the unlearned men who comprise the unions—are not to be blamed for being deceived thereby, nor for regarding the union, under such a condition, as being a benefit to themselves, and for hanging their hopes and their lives upon it.

Yet we have seen that when the men left the candy factory, the product of the factory followed them. If when they left the factory the product of the factory had ceased, then, indeed, would they have been injured by being discharged. If all factories should so shut down, what would be the resource of the men discharged? They would turn to the soil, the great factory which nature has prepared for the employment and sustenance of all men. But the continuous output of the factory prepared and provided for the men new jobs. Whereas before this product was merely transported and distributed, it now has a thousand added hands working upon it, putting it into more marketable shape. It is taken from its wooden barrels and repacked in fancy paper boxes, which packing has given rise to a paper box factory; this in turn to a pulp mill; this further back to a timber industry, cutting the wood to make pulp. Some of the boys went off and started a chemical works to bleach the pulp; others remelted and worked over parts of the output of my factory and made it into forms entailing more art and refinement than I employed; some opened a printing office to print fancy wrappers; and the stock which left my factory was sold under different conditions, and brought much more money than I sold it for, since between my yield and the consumer there grew up a dozen new industries created by those thousand men, the upshot of which was that the public received my product in a more acceptable way, packed in a manner to effect a vastly wider reach of distribution.

The result of the change of the men was that whereas my factory had been turning out a large annual tonnage with the labor of a thousand men drawn from that community, now the same tonnage goes forth without the labor of those men, and their energies are saved to be applied in the directions named. In so far as the community goes, there is the product of the factory going forth without labor. It meets in the community these discharged hands, with the result as stated.

Let us take the matter in another aspect: Suppose that instead of my taking on the thousand Georgians, I had taken on none at all, but had put into the factory a number of automatic machines, and these produced all the product similar to that of my output with the men, and I required no labor whatever, only machines. Are the thousand men whom I let out harmed, or is the country harmed by that circumstance? Here we have product going forth into the community without any labor at all. Is anybody hurt thereby that goods can come forth without human energy? If so, then let us assail the heavens when they yield copious rains, for these are producers of abundance without human energy. Yet in some way we seem to delight at generous rains and regard their absence as a blight. Surely in seasons of drouth far more of human energy must be applied to the soil to get from it paying yields, which even fall far short of the crops afforded by favoring rains; but according to the doctrine that the letting out of the men was a harm, we must bemoan when rain shall fall, for such brings forth a yield without labor, just as the product of the machines were a yield without labor, and just as the yield of the Georgians was without labor, in so far as the town and county of Candyville was concerned.

Indeed, if we examine the sum total of civilization itself we shall find that it means, in its ultimate goal, just that thing, viz.: the mastery of man over matter—a mastery so complete in its ascendancy that the needs, the comforts, even the material luxuries and delights of men all are supplied with the application to matter of a modicum of human energy. When that is attained the life of man will cease to be chiefly material, but will become mostly spiritual; the concerns of the mind and of the soul will engage him; and it is to this that civilization in its free course is tending, and which it will attain in infinite realms of human happiness that no terrestrial concept can now approximate, if it be permitted to pursue its way, clear of the clogs which now beset it and threaten it.

The principle is that any factor of production that increases abundance of the things we desire, whether such be a new laborer or a new machine, an improved system, a more recent chemical or mechanical discovery, is a benefit to every one in the community. Because abundance means further employment. Once wealth is wrested from nature it inures to the benefit of all men within its reach. It is wealth, abundance, plenty, that gives employment; this, coupled with human initiative, is the real factor which produces the jobs; just as the movements of both are unclogged and free, so are the opportunities to labor frequent or few.

The contrary doctrine, however, which I shall call the "labor market" theory, treats scarcity as necessary to give employment to labor. It therefore limits output, upon the supposition that if there be abundance there will be more than consumption can consume, and men must thereby be laid off until supply needs replenishment. Consequently any factor tending to scarcity is a benefit to the laborer. Short hours, high wages, limit of output, waste, sabotage, strikes, destruction by the elements, any engine that will increase cost and decrease supply is assumed to be a benefit to the laborer. The edict of Knight of Labor Powderly to break all empty bottles that the bottle makers might have employment making new ones, and the blowing up of the non-union structures by McNamara, were all in line with this principle.

A doctrine that demands scarcity and produces it, also places an inordinate estimate upon the job. If scarcity must persist in order to furnish opportunity to labor to those who are employed, what priceless boon must such opportunity be to those who have it! Hence this possession must be guarded and protected against not only those who would menace it from without, but from those who would enter it from within. To effect this protection the holders of the jobs organize, and we have the labor union—an institution which treats itself as in possession of a vested right to all the jobs that a given occupation provides; which regards it as a crime akin to treason that one shall work in such service without its permission, and which is equipped to wage war alike upon employer and applicant who shall disregard this assertion of its right. It is an institution to whom immigrants are no less hateful than the children of the unionists themselves; who oppose the entry into the state alike of Orientals and Europeans, provided they come to work;* who conduct constantly a widespread campaign throughout the country telling people to keep away; who limit the apprentices who may enter the crafts to a number barely equal to supply the places of the unionists who pass away, and who, in constant fear of "overstocking the labor market," curb even their own reproduction of children.

It is the nature of such a principle to wall up the world, each nation against the other. Under the operation of this influence we have walled up the Orient, but we are in like manner walling up ourselves. The shutting out of the European follows naturally the shutting out of the Asiatic; and as we isolate ourselves, and escape from the system becomes more and more restricted through absorption of all the free arable land of the continent, the centripetal process of the doctrine becomes apparent. It is the quality of civilization to cheapen cost and prevent waste, thereby reducing prices while increasing quality, making commodities better and more accessible to all. All processes of the mind expressed in discovery, invention, adaptation and systemization tend in this direction. We can in a manner measure the status of civilization by watching, over the whole nation, this tendency. When the counter forces of civilization, therefore, overcome this tendency, we see prices rise and quality reduced. As prices rise† consumption is lessened, and the call for labor thereupon declines. The doors of opportunity to labor being barred by the union, women are thrown into the street and boys into idleness and immorality. A stupendous aggregate of idle labor ensues and this stirs action in two directions, viz.: facilities for finding employment for laborers, and schemes for forcing employment for laborers where none economically exists. Specimens of the latter are the full crew schedules, like the bills affecting railroads so common in our state legislatures and the shipping bill now before Congress. In the former effort, that of facilitating employment, the labor unions of England supplement the work of the various public bodies, all unconscious, perhaps, that they themselves are the chief causes of the very conditions which they thus ineffectually seek to allay. In this state of things all dependents suffer; women, children, youths, old age. The latter, whom it is our duty and, under natural conditions, our pleasure to care for in their decline of life, become a burden. It is the history of barbarous tribes, particularly the Germanic, that the aged, being no longer productive, were slain, and the son was obliged to kill his father. This rite does not obtain in modern civilization, but there arises in our midst enormous edifices of public charity for the aged, and, as in England where labor unions are highest developed, these work houses and their attendant aids shelter sixty per cent. of the population of the country above the age of sixty years.

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*We hear many opinions upon the cause of high prices, an evil now generally recognized. One writer assigns an insufficient supply of monetary gold as the cause; another the lack of practice of domestic economies among the people, etc.; but the real cause is very simple, though never mentioned that I have seen, viz.: scarcity of the article priced. The only reason why any commodity exists at all is that it shall be consumed. Industry forcing it into the hands of the consumer is no less eager in its efforts than the industry which brought it into existence. If it exists in abundance it will find consumers at prices which they can pay. This price, of course, must be such as makes profitable both production and distribution, or abundance will cease and scarcity supervene.

†In an address made before the American Federation of Labor at its recent convention held in the State of Washington, the secretary of that organization strongly opposed the immigration to the United States of Europeans on the ground that thereby they prevented the laborers of this country from working out their problems here, and also interfered with the laboring people of the countries from which they came in working out their problems in such countries. At a convention of the Building Trades Council lately held in San Jose, the secretary of that body denounced the Panama Canal as amounting to a scheme to bring laborers into the state to take the jobs from the workmen here.

Amidst such a condition there are widespread calls for legislative relief in the form of old age pensions, maternity awards, minimum wages, workingmen's compensation, unemployed insurance, eight-hour and six-hour labor laws, and various kindred devices all aimed to meet a tendency and alleviate extensive poverty and distress which that tendency creates. The real effect of these expedients is to burden industry, discourage incentive through making perilous and difficult the conducting of business, while the so-called relief itself is such as would not be welcomed, indeed in many instances, would be indignantly spurned as gifts of public contribution, if men were free to provide for themselves.*

Increasing cost of production tends to isolation of the *situs* of production. The only reason for the shipment of goods from a distance is that they can be laid down at the end of such shipment cheaper than they can be produced at home. As the cost of their creation at the place of their production increases, the zone of distribution decreases. It is possible that the conditions under which shoes are made in the factories of Massachusetts may become such that it would be cheaper to make the same grade of shoe by hand in San Francisco, rather than ship them hence from the Eastern centres of such production. Indeed, the difference in factory cost may be very slight when it would be no longer profitable to ship them to San Francisco in competition with shoe factories of the latter city producing at a much higher cost. It is in large part upon these variations in cost that traffic of transportation companies, railroad and other, depends; and as the forces of isolation increase the cost, slacken the market, decrease the area of profitable shipment, the railroad, steamship and steamboat lines begin to suffer from the malady of decreasing gross earnings, while the pressure of ever increasing high prices forces upon them ever higher demands for wages and greater costs of operating. In turn they of necessity must raise the rates for their service; but these increased rates contribute to increase costs of production, which further limits the field of shipment, and this reacting tends further to lower the volume of traffic, while the original forces which increased costs and made the raise of rates necessary, continue in their further operations toward still higher costs.

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*One of the most remarkable exhibits of the condition I am describing, is the amazing mass of literature that exists upon the subject in England. The theme seems to be more written upon than any other that engages the English mind. Books and pamphlets, literally by thousands, exist and are constantly appearing. Yet no less remarkable is the fact that none of these publications, that I have seen, reach into the true cause of the trouble. Occasionally we find a writer catching a glimpse of the cause, as W. H. Beveridge in his book on the Unemployed, in which he says:

"The popular concept is of industry rigidly limited—a sphere of cast iron in which men struggle for living room; in which the greater the room taken by any one man the less there must be for others; in which the greater the number of men the worse must be the case of all."

The author in another part of his book unconsciously asserts a refutation of this idea. He says:

"As the population of the United Kingdom increases so do the wealth and productivity per head of population. In 1867 the national income was put at £814,000,000 for 30,000,000 of population, or £27 per head; in 1901 it was £1,700,000,000, or £40 per head."

The simile to which I have referred in Beveridge's book is not followed out with reasoning to show the effect which the application of this idea—which he recognizes as erroneous—has upon industry. Aside from this observation, all the rest of the labor literature of England to which I have had access deals with the question of what to do with the idle laborers.

With a considerable and ever increasing proportion of the industrial population of the nation deteriorating in confirmed idleness, with even members of the union squeezed out of employment by the severe contracting and constricting process which ever tightly draws toward the centre, with the Government striving always to relieve ''the poor'' and the ''working people'' by ever greater schemes of taxation; with industry hampered, incentive impaired, initiative held back by the status of things and by the general legislative attitude that any man who by extraordinary manifestation of ability or energy accumulates large property is wrongfully extracting an inordinate share of the proceeds of society, which necessarily must be acquired to the deprivation of large numbers of people who have so little and who find what they moderately need so hard to get—with this state of things prevailing over the nation, the eyes of the million naturally turn to what they come to look upon as the one haven of refuge from the general oppression—the Government. Industry, organized strictly in groups on reciprocally defensive lines, engages every means it can assemble to preserve its existence. Monopoly in all forms everywhere obtains. The centripetal action, whirling in the real of labor, is sought to be counterpoised by every phase of industry spinning in its own orbit. Men turn to the Government as the only power that can merge all the monopolies into one great monopoly—that of the State. The mind, so long tormented by the stress of things, turns to the Government with a feeling of comfort and relief at the idea of bringing about a condition in which the status of all will be in some manner horizontalized, and everyone will be secure in a Government job at good wages. Government, not suddenly or convulsively, but by rapidly succeeding steps, is forced from its position of protector of the individual rights of men, of one man against another, and the aider of industry by the distribution of facilities of information, to the active factor in control of industry—the producer, transporter, distributor, the banker of industry; in a word, the provider of jobs for its citizens. Moving upon the nucleus of the operator of the monopoly of the postal service, it adds the express service; then the telephone and telegraph services; then the railroads; then the steamship and steamboat lines. Exhausting the field of interstate public utilities, it enters those of the state and municipalities. It supplies electric light and power; street and suburban car service. From the building of ships for the navy in its own yards, it builds ships for commerce; it mines coal and oil for their fuel, and for the fuel of all industry. It makes clothing and shoes and materials and subsistence for its soldiers and sailors, and for the public generally; and in whatever domain of industry it enters it promptly installs conditions which make private competition therein impossible. The army of employees of the Government becomes a vast aggregate. The change from the constitutional system upon which the Government was founded has been profound. Constitutional restraints and representative legislation has been swept aside by the spread of official distrust which under the general tightening economic status of the masses has infected the public mind. Now no statesman dares stand for the truth if such be opposed to the ideas which demagoguery has infused into the popular mind, unless he be indifferent to public office, for his summary dismissal and disgrace through recall would be assured. Legislative enactments are now determined not by the wisdom of representation and debate, but by direct action of a minority of the people. They vote into law measures which they believe for their welfare. This they invariably regard as served by some presumed advantage planned to be had against the foreigner, against the minority, or against races within the country. In like manner they prevent from becoming laws acts of the legislature which disagree with either the sense of interest of the majority, or with their bias; and even for this cause dismiss judges from their positions, and vitiate their decrees.

Great standing armies and stupendous armament, ever annually increasing, themselves immensely adding to the cost of industry, has for years been a fixed attribute of Government, deemed indispensable to defend the nation from the people across the sea or border; while those people, suffering from the same economic infirmity as ourselves, and in a like disturbed state of mind against us, have been similarly exhausting their strength upon great armaments and munitions, which they deemed needful to defend their country against us. The condition of national migrative isolation,[*] with its long fostered popular hatreds of the foreigner, has incessantly called for a foreign war. Such a war, hysterically promoted by the "yellow" press, has come to be looked upon by the "conservative business man" as not at all undesirable from the standpoint of the domestic interests of the country. It is regarded as necessary to relieve the nation of much of its "surplus population," comprising so many persons in almost continuous idleness. Besides, it is regarded as a means of bringing internal peace through deflecting all antagonisms and directing them against the foreigner, instead of exerting them in constant rioting and insurrection from place to place throughout the country, as has been for years going on, the fruitful cause thereof being "labor disputes," and "race differences." Further, a foreign war, it is felt by many, is needful to bring good times; as necessary to break the crust of things and make business active, as it certainly would in some lines, just as the hospitals and druggists become active because of an epidemic, a simile I used in my recent lecture.

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[*] The character of United States immigration exclusion which has prevented the rise of Mexico has been contract labor exclusion, through which inhibition Mexicans could not emigrate across the border if they had been previously employed to work in the United States. Only through advance assurance of employment at the end of their journey, is it possible for Mexican people to leave their homes and migrate to the United States. Such is, in fact, the condition under which all industrial peoples migrate, though in the case of many nationalities, the newcomers are received by resident friends who care for them until they are settled in employment in the country, such friends having previously

This desired and highly popular war occurs. It brings forward a successful general—the strong and unscrupulous man of history. He has always come forth on the stage of the world, when the hour called, after a period of national travail. He possesses the peculiar characteristic quality, always displayed wherever and whenever he has appeared, of—

> Wielding, bending, fettering, kneading, molding
> The minds of millions till they move as one.

He knows how to extinguish internal opposition to his plans, to cement the nation in the direction of his course. The temper of the country has become military and anti-foreign. He is elected to the presidency practically by popular acclaim. His ambition is that of his predecessors Alexander, Cyrus, Mahomet, Atilla, Caesar, Napoleon—to establish himself absolute in world rule, in universal empire. The time is ripe. Millions are in the service of

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advised them by correspondence that employment would be practically ready for them upon their arrival. This method has not been the case with Mexicans to any appreciable extent; but if they were permitted to do so they would come to the country in gangs, upon the call of contractors and others, to do given work in the United States; and this migration, starting closest to the border, would gradually extend throughout Mexico, until the movement became of a more individualistic order. Such form of migration is, however, prohibited by law made in behalf of labor unions. The result has been failure of the rise of the Mexican people, absence of American influence in Mexico, and failure of normal development of our Mexican border states. Mexico itself, by reason of this blight, is now disintegrating through internecine war; quite the same as China has started in to disintegrate, and as Japan will presently disintegrate, and from the same cause—with this difference in the latter countries, of the dissolution of native sovereignty passing through foreign incursions, a condition which would quickly supervene in Mexico, were it not for the Monroe doctrine.

Mexico might well serve as a lesson to Japan, in that Japan thinks her people can rise through development of her internal resources by her own citizens educated abroad or at home, and by the presence of a few enterprising foreigners. Mexico was the theatre of thousands of large enterprises conducted by Americans and Europeans, yet her people, shut off from migrating with the United States, did not rise in any appreciable degree, or if at all, only to the extent of becoming dissatisfied; as is the case with southern China and with the Japanese about Tokio. It will be observed that the revolution in Mexico is chiefly in that part nearest the influence of the United States, namely, the northern border states, and the hinter tier of states, just as the revolution in China was in the Quang Tung province, the district whose people, through returning migrants from the United States, had been most influenced by our civilization. That the people of Mexico would have risen vastly had they been free to migrate to and from the United States is shown by the fact that the tropical African, resident in the United States, has developed hundreds of thousands of his race to high levels of civilized efficiency. Did the Africans possess a nation in Africa, as Mexico, China and Japan are nations, and intercourse between Africa and the United States were free, the Africans passing to and from our country and their own, there is no doubt that the African nation would have become vastly uplifted from its original state through the influence of the United States upon its migrants and their returning to their own country.

the Government, men and women, whose votes he owns, and to whom he is an idol. Through the polls they set up and tear down any and all he wishes By perfectly lawful means, and apparently in the highest patriotic interests, he has enacted and repealed this and that constitutional and other provision, overturned this and that court decision, hitherto regarded, as the constitution itself, a bulwark of American liberties, until he has things in the shape he wants them. Foreign war now becomes war for foreign conquest. The hour has come. *L'homme* mounts the saddle; and from that on the nation converges to the rider on the white horse.

Thus we see by what processes individual freedom is overcome and supplanted, first by state socialism, this quickly passing into military despotism, under which, and the influence of war and ruin, civilization again subsides to the verge of the barbaric. As all war is primitive, the state of society that subsists beside long drawn periods of war, a thirty years war, or a hundred years war,* will be alike barbaric; and the more directions in which the war may be simultaneously waged, the more rapid will be the disintegration of the civilized state.

The question is: how can we avert this impending doom? Is it, indeed, avoidable? I reply that it is, and easily so. We have but to employ, as I have said, the wisdom to understand the condition and the courage to correct it. The question is: will we do it? *Can* we do it? Is it possible for me, for instance, to get spread abroad this message, that men may have their thoughts introverted to contemplate the condition, and be awakened to follow the reasoning to reach the end? What is the remedy? It is exceedingly simple, so simple that you will smile when you hear it: it is HUMAN LIBERTY.

It is the liberty that was seen by our fathers of the constitution. The liberty that inspired the framer of the Declaration of Independence when he wrote:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among which are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness; to secure which governments are established among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The enemy of liberty is monopoly. It is only the destruction of monopoly in all its forms that is needed to secure to man liberty, to readjust conditions to bring abundance, happiness and security. Monopoly exists by virtue of law. It is special privilege, granting to some and denying to others that to which all are equally entitled. What things are monopolies and what are not, is a subject into which I cannot go at this time, in this article, now far too much prolonged. Very certain it is that many things now often spoken of as monopolies are not monopolies at all, but entirely legitimate and proper functions of individuals; while some possessions not now commonly regarded as monopolies are in the highest degree such, so radically so in their nature that no change for the better could ever be effected without their eradication. But whatever the sacrifice of those in possession of monopoly, it is necessary that such be foregone if mankind is to go forward, and civilization as we now know it is to endure. We have got to return to the principle upon which this government was founded, namely: that the rights of man embrace all rights up to where their exercise trenches upon like rights of his neighbor. As to the region where they so trench, that is the true field of statesmanship—the proper zone for the functions of the legislature. Beyond this it has no business to go. How absurd it is that men shall be stigmatized and persecuted because their operations in business are large! Who would quell these great minds of business who have made the civilization of this nation so noble and so grand, or withhold from them the lure which impelled them on. Who would stifle such energies as those of Rockefeller or curb the constructive genius of Harriman? That restless soul pushed railroads through mountains and over plains, across desert sands and desert seas, and wore out his frail body in the endless quest of his laborers. What was his reward? Some sixty millions or more, it is said: what folly to think of it! He received what he ate and what he wore and the place that sheltered him. For the rest he had some printed paper, a ton or more, stacked up in a vault, worth in pulp some few dollars or a few cents. The railroads with their trains rushing hither and yon were not for Harriman, for they carried neither Harriman nor his goods. They carried the people of the United States and *their* effects, and they are the beneficiaries of his laborers. If these men have employed monopoly in their operations, it was because monopoly was a part of the business field. It was not necessary to them in their work, they could have performed their tasks without it if it had not existed; but existing as it did, it was indispensable that they should use it. The way to remedy these conditions is not to suppress the men as socialism would do, compressing the potentialities of all to a common dead labor union level; but destroy the monopoly. Permit the men to go on. Let the prizes be great and grand, as it is necessary they should be to bring out the highest energies of great souls; how insubstantial, in truth, are all such prizes. The millionaire builds the tall business block, or the vast hotel. He calls it the ''Smith Block'' or the ''Jonesmont,'' and a stately edifice it is. To him what is it? What else does he acquire of or through it than a sense of esteem in which he deems himself held by his fellow men, and a feeling of some kind of power in connection with them?

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*It is a mistake to assume that by reason of the expression of modern science in warfare, the latter has become, or will become, impracticable, and will cease to be waged; or that the effect of modern military instrumentalities will be to make wars short in duration. Without doubt their use greatly increases human slaughter, and requires war to be conducted upon a larger scale than was usual in the past. But the tendency of hostilities, as soon as they are installed, is to get rid of these refinements and bring battles down to hand-to-hand fighting. War, under existing civilization, continued for some time, soon becomes primitive.

''Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, saith the preacher.'' How can he use such power save for their benefit? He acquires a million a year in rents and he reinvests it—in what? In other buildings and other industrial undertakings. Nature has so schemed it: desiring to better self, it is needful that he first better his neighbor. Nature too, in her wise arrangement of things that runs through the affairs of men, just as it runs through all growth, has selected this man, elected him administrator of funds for the use of others, and he holds this position through proving his efficiency. The real beneficiaries of his work are the people who occupy the building, those who use the ultimate product of his enterprises. *He* gets, as I have said, what he eats, wears and uses—that is all. At the end of his career, if he has not left a progeny to carry on his work, there falls upon others the task of distributing his estate. How is it applied? Some Sage Foundation is organized and the yield of his properties no longer pass into industry, but are devoted to benevolent objects of public weal which are outside the scope of government, and properly so, to provide. The unfortunate are sought out and aided; comforts are brought to the needy; "for the poor always ye have with you"—not necessarily the impoverished, but the poor; and no socialism or any other ism can ever eradicate them; the reasons wherefor I cannot now pause to recite. Learning, art, science, are patronized, and their benefits are distributed to the uplift of the masses of the people. The *post mortem* career of the millionaire has taken on a new form of activity, appealing to the spirit of man, as his life was an engine appeasing their material desires. What folly, how hurtful to themselves for the people of any nation to hamper, to harass and derogate their master minds of business!

I think all men, awake to affairs within the nation, and conscious of the trend of western civilization, will realize that the fruition of that civilization, in the course of the evolution upon which it has been proceeding, is at its apex, if indeed, it is not far past it. The condition has long been foreseen. Ten years ago Benjamin Kidd, writing on this subject in his book "Social Evolution," said:

"We seem to have reached a time in which there is abroad in men's minds an instinctive feeling that a definite stage in the evolution of western civilization is drawing to a close, and that we are entering on a new era. Yet one of the most curious features of the time is the almost complete absence of any clear indication from those who speak in the name of science and authority, as to the direction in which the path of future progress lies. . . . Judged by the utterances of her spokesmen, science, whose great triumph in the nineteenth century has been the tracing of steps in the evolution of life up to human society, now stands dumb before the problems presented by society as it exists around us. As regards its evolution she appears to have no clear message. . . . (The public) who have to determine the issue (between capital and labor) are without knowledge of the first principles of the struggle. They look in vain for any authoritative definition of the laws or principles which underlie it; for any clear indication as to which side is right and which is wrong, or for any definite teaching as to whither our western civilization as a whole is tending."

Since Kidd wrote, the condition which he deplored has become accentuated; the trend, then for a long time apparent, has since become acute, so that it is now manifest to any perceiving mind. But in the decade, as prior, no voice has come forth to reveal the cause or point the way of relief and remedy. This, in the paper herewith presented, is, if not explained, at least indicated. To expound the reasoning with the completeness of proof, so that it may be entirely convincing to any rational mind, is a task which it has long been my desire to engage, but which fortune has never permitted me to attempt. Its exposition would require a book of about 500 pages, and to an attorney, employed in active practice, which his exigencies demand that he industriously pursue, the setting aside of time for such a labor is impossible. I can only hope that the lines I have here defined may be taken up by some mind having the leisure and the inclination to elucidate the trend, and to demonstrate the solution of the problem which the trend presents. Let me accentuate that the trend is socialism, absolutism and decline and ultimate perishing of our modern civilization—a movement now proceeding with a speed akin to the velocity of a celestial sphere about its orbit. The cause is the traversing of human liberty, of the natural rights of man, through the instrumentality of law, as so generally exists in various domains of business and property rights, or through sheer force of arms, as in the case of labor unions. Society must first understand, and then eradicate each and all of these. It must recognize that the day of special privilege is done; that such must pass, either merged into socialism as it is now proceeding, or eliminated in favor of individual rights. In either event men must cease curbing the proper activities of others, in order that they themselves may prosper. Those business men who now think they need be intrenched in monopoly in order to succeed, are mistaken. They would unquestionably make more money in a state of freedom, where human desire had free scope in its call for the service of men, than in the state of society which now exists. Prosperity of the sort mentioned is not real, but false, feverish and artificial. True prosperity can exist only when all men possess like opportunities before nature and under law, limited only by their own mental and physical capacities, or in other words, under a society in which men are free.

The Student in Oriental Immigration

By JOHN E. BENNETT.

The following address was delivered by Mr. Bennett before the Chinese Students' Association of America, at its convention held in San Francisco, in Y. M. C. A. hall, in January, 1914. Upon being introduced, Mr. Bennett said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

Why did you come to the United States? To go to school? You could have gone to school in China, and could have gotten some measure of a so-called western education in the lately built colleges of your native country. You came here, if you will think of it, primarily to be in the presence of western civilization. Your going to college here, important as that is, is the least part of your education in this western land. The greater part of it is the fact that by being here you are brought into immediate contact with the multitude of objects, effects, productions and systems of western science and life. You are here in the midst of the highest civilization which mankind has ever developed, and you are seeing things, coming in contact with things, daily and hourly in your out-of-school experiences, that are making you a part of that life and of that civilization. With this, as well as with your diplomas, you will return to China, and your lives will then be devoted to the upbuilding of your own nation after the manner of what you have learned here.

Did it ever occur to you that every man of China who leaves your country for the west moves thither with exactly the same idea that has impelled you to come? You think perhaps that only the upper classes of China are the people who become educated, to whom schooling in the western world would be appropriate. You are disposed to regard the Chinese laborer as an extremely unimportant personage, whose province and function it is to work, and that he does not become educated; that the fact that he cannot come to the United States, is of no consequence, for he would not come here to study but to work; and if he be kept away from working here he will simply work in China, and it is no odds where he works. You speak of him lightly as a ''coolie,'' and you do not think much about him. Let me say to you that the coolie is the real Chinaman. Eighty per cent. of your people are laborers, and it is so in all countries which have developed along the lines of civilization in the true sense, which is the western sense, no farther than has China. In the mountains of the Philippines the population is one hundred per cent. laborers. You in China have a far less number of lawyers, doctors, teachers, financiers, bankers, promoters, inventors, merchants, manufacturers, scientists, office men, than have we. Even our laborers, compared with your laborers are not laborers at all. The skilled man who operates a delicate and highly sensitive machine that draws a great train of cars over a vast steel highway cannot be compared in his status of laborer, though among us he is classed as such, to the coolie who jumps along roads worn deep by naked feet, under his burden of hundreds of pounds swinging at two ends of a pole.

The coolie is the real man of China; the real Chinese nation. And why did he come to the United States? He came for exactly the same reason that you come. He came to go to school; not to go to school in a building with books under his arm; ah, no. Such are not the real schools. They are specifically educational seminaries. The real school is the United States—the nation itself. The coolie comes here to work. *You* come here to work. You work indoors, he works either indoors or out of doors. You are taught how to run machines in colleges, he was taught how to run machines in factories. What is the difference between the education that you get in the agricultural or horticultural colleges at Berkeley, and the education which he got on the great ranch in the San Joaquin, run by American men, equipped with modern appliances and conducted upon the effective systems which American thought has brought to bear in that field of productivity? The difference is only in degree. Both are lighting your lamps from the vast flame of western light, and with this illumination in degree as your respective capacities enable you to absorb it, you both return to China—to do what? To apply your knowledge there in the uplift of your people and your country.

But, my friends, this laborer of China is shut away from the United States. Not only from here, but other countries, believing our judgment against him to be correct, have copied our decree, and have shut him away from their nations. In no country where the light of western knowledge beams, and where he has thus far appeared in such numbers as to draw notice, can he enter. From the countries of that most advanced of the human race, those of the tongue who have in dominion spread themselves farther over the surface of the earth than any other—the English speaking people, he is shut away, save in England itself, and the regions of the English flag in Asia. That branch of them comprising the American nation has even shut him away from the parts of Asia where they are ascendant, so that he cannot go to the islands of the continent which he inhabits, and which, prior to our advent, had been his right since the dawn of history. From Canada, from Australia, from South Africa, from the isles of the Atlantic as well as those of the Pacific, from Alaska to the antipodes he is regarded as an object which must be kept away. He is excluded from Panama, he is massacred in Mexico as a warning that he must not further come there, and the countries of Latin-America, one after another, are copying into law the exclusion enactments of the United States.

What does this mean to China? Have you ever thought of that? If you have it is more than your statesmen have ever done. It means that China is shut off from the light of the western world, from the lamp of western knowledge. It means that China is doomed to continue in barbarism and weakness, and that she can never rise. You have heard read here tonight by Professor Treat of the Oriental section of Stanford University a letter of Alexander Hamilton expressing the conditions afflicting the new nation of a few hundred thousand souls then gathered upon the eastern seaboard of the United States; and the Professor thinks he finds in that letter descriptions that parallel the conditions now in China which beset the statesmen administering the new republic. That they are in truth only difficulties and they will presently disappear, as disappeared those which called forth the letter of Hamilton. I assure him that the conditions of America at that time and those of China at present are wholly different. Here we had a vast territory lacking only settlement through immigration, with the door open to such from the nations of highest enlightenment then existing in the world—the civilization of Europe. China has vast territory; it is not sparsely settled, as ours was in the time of Hamilton, but it is well settled. It presents no offer to immigration—it is lacking in light. And that light is denied her through the attitude toward her of the western world. This country, presenting the conditions which Alexander Hamilton deplored, would have paralleled the present state of China had an exclusion law against the immigration of Europe existed on the American Atlantic seaboard which would have shut away the immigration of Europe, as was at that time, as early as 1789, strenuously demanded by various misguided persons, the progenitors of those who came after and enacted the exclusion law of 1882. But the door of immigration was kept open and in poured the men of Europe, who produced in this country the conditions that favored light, and there followed an inpouring of the light of Europe, and light acted upon light, and there arose in a hundred years this vast illumination which we now realize as the apex of modern civilization. What would the United States ever have attained in civilization if those people of Europe had been prevented from coming here in 1789 and thence on, as the exclusionists of that day would have effected, had they been given their way? The few who in that day were in the country would scarcely have advanced at all. We would have had now on the Atlantic seaboard small settlements of unenterprising and stolid people, and the balance of the country would still be the hunting ground of Indians. The reason for this would be that the light of Europe had been shut away from the new land by the exclusion of immigration. In respect of China today, the conditions differ chiefly in the fact that we stand to her in the position that the Europe of 1789 stood to us, and her continent, instead of being sparsely settled as then was ours, is for a large part well settled. The conditions differ also in this—that with America of 1789 the immigration moved from the center of higher civilization to the country of lesser development, whereas with China of 1913 the immigration would (if allowed) move from the country of lesser development (China) to that of the higher civilization (America). Why in one case the immigration moved from a higher to a lesser civilization, and in the other case it would, were it free, move from a lesser to a higher civilization, is an interesting subject for inquiry. The answer is that migration always moves to fields of larger economic or industrial opportunity. The civilization of Europe in 1789 was vastly higher than that of the United States, but it was very unequally distributed amongst its peoples. There was a great under stratum in the society of the European countries of higher enlightenment to whom the benefits of their civilization was largely denied. These people emigrated to America, where they found, even amongst the wilds of the new country, larger opportunity, a far more untrammeled scope for the exercise of their intellects and energies, hence a wider school, than was presented to them in the lands they had left. The civilization built here by these immigrants was reared upon the structure of the old civilization of Europe, the best of which came to be drawn upon and incorporated in that rising here. This latter came ultimately to assist the upbuilding of the civilization of Europe in its own habitat. The discoveries in science, the elaboration of systems, the methods in industry and trade, even the economic principles and laws brought forward in America reacted upon Europe and were adopted there, in whole or in part, and such adoptions bred within those countries further thought which evolving into achievements we in turn acquired those. So by action and reaction of the thought of the two continents, what we call western civilization has been developed as we know it today. With this process the Orient has had practically nothing to do. We built up our civilization with little or no aid from them, for the simple reason that there was no interchange of people between the two continents, as was always the case between this continent and that of Europe. Articles of trade do not furnish the thought incentive that enables one country to build upon the thought of another. Such requires human contact, in other words migration. We could have gone on using the teas, the silks and gums of the Orient indefinitely and have been wholly unaffected by Chinese and Japanese thought in consequence thereof. One of the gratest tea drinking nations of the world, England, has acquired nothing of Chinese thought through its large consumption of her tea. De Quincey, addicted to the Chinese vice of opium, was so shocked on seeing a Chinese whom he met in England, that for months his aberrations were filled with what were to him horrifying visions of the Orient. The trouble with China today is not the growing pains that affect the healthy youth of a republic, but it is due to the fact that a little of western light has shot into the nation through returning immigrants from the United States, and the possessors of that light are trying to diffuse it amidst the surrounding darkness. Such light as it is, is very imperfect, and its possessors do not know how to handle it. More of the same light is required, even to them, to enable them to know how to use it to their advantage. But it is the character of that quality—the light of civilization—that whoever possesses it will hold it as a lamp and will try to carry it forward. Where it meets darkness on every hand, as in China, it will naturally turn into a torch, and as such will become extinguished. The circumambient barbarianism will snuff it out. To sustain itself against the great walls of darkness, the light must be constantly reinforced from the sources of that light—in other words, more and ever more returned immigrants from the United States must pass into China to hold up the hands of those there bearing the lamp, and in such manner the illumination must ever grow, if it is to be sustained—otherwise it will expire and darkness will again pervade. This is what is the matter with China. Where did the revolution against the Manchus break out, and where was it most obstinately sustained? In the Quang Tung province, the region from which the immigrants went to the United States, during the thirty years we admitted them here, and to which they returned. These people wanted China to be a republic like the United States, where they or their fathers had acquired their knowledge. They thought if China were a republic, like the United States, it would soon become enlightened like the United States, and life in China would then be on a plane with life here. They did not realize that by changing the form of government they did not change the knowledge of the people, and that they cannot increase this in the varied and widespread manner necessary for the upbuilding of the nation after the manner of the civilized west, unless they have full and free that which the west possesses, namely, migration with the west. Let one nation of the west bottle up itself, or be bottled up, against all other nations, as is the case with China and Japan, so that the people cannot go out of the country anywhere into the west, and what would happen? Why, the proscribed nation would not only not advance, but it would rapidly deteriorate. That such must be the fate of China and of Japan, no thinking men can doubt. Do you realize what danger you are severally encountering by carrying western educations into a country where you will stand isolated spots of light surrounded by dense ignorance which is not in sympathy with your knowledge and views of life? How many men similar to yourselves have been murdered in China during the past year, for no other reason than that they were in possession of this western knowledge and were trying to graft it upon the darkness of China and to build out of that condition a higher order of affairs for the Chinese people! Look at that Chinese parliament, with its hands locked, unable to put pen to paper! Not locked by Yuan Shi Kai, who was groping amidst the gloom to find the things best to do, but by each other. Did you ever hear of a congress of the United States, a parliament of England, a Chamber of France, that would stand still for months, in the face of a great national crisis, and be unable to bring forward the wisdom to act? But you would find just that condition of things where one body of the men were possessed of western light and ideals, and the rest were not. The less enlightened elements would simply not act at all, not knowing how to act in such a matter, hence fearful of all action. I tell you, my friends, you are entering upon a hazardous career to attempt to carry western light amongst a people shut off from the sources of that light, as China is today through its exclusion by the western world of her emigrating people.

I do not, however, feel that such admonitions as I am giving to you will long be in point to be given by anybody in the United States. In my judgment, not many bodies of intelligent Chinese, such as I see here tonight, will for long go forward from this country to China. You have read in the newspapers, but a week or more ago, the declaration by the head of the Immigration Department on the Coast, himself a labor union politician, that too many Chinese, pretending to be students, are entering this country under the exempt clause. That means that the Immigration Department is opposed to the entry of you students, and will employ the powers of the government in their hands to keep further contingents of you out of the country. You must know that the administration of the immigration laws of this country are in the hands of those who are strongly opposed to all immigrants entering the country, who wish to keep out every one who does not come here simply to spend money. They believe that any man who comes here to work takes the bread out of the mouth of some workman already here; that any country which by further enlightenment increases its powers of production, thereby lessens the opportunity of productions of the United States; and the element or class of our population whom the believers in these errors represent, are those who deem themselves injured by such immigration—I refer to our labor unionists. These people, administering the immigration laws, have full and absolute control over them. They have succeeded in eliminating the Courts of the country from dealing with such matters, so that justice through law is not possible, and appeals are taken merely from one labor unionist to another labor unionist. There is nothing, therefore, to prevent them from excluding whatever Chinese students they may desire, and as they regard the Chinese exclusion laws as racial, as in fact they are, they view it desirable that all Chinese, all Japanese and all Hindus should be kept out of the country without regard to their occupations. You noticed just last week that the Chinese Six Companies issued a statement that they would urge the Chinese government not to exhibit at the Panama Pacific Exposition on the ground that it is the policy of the United States and the State of California to discriminate against all Chinese resident within the country; and you have noted the many recent acts of the California legislature, among them the so-called Alien-Land Acts, preventing Chinese and Japanese from owning lands within the state, which have for their purpose the rooting out and expelling Chinese and Japanese residents from the state, just as similar discriminatory acts in South Africa have for their purpose the driving out of that country the Chinese and Hindu people. For these reasons, therefore, you may expect fewer Chinese students educated in the United States in future than heretofore. I do not regard this as harmful to such proposed students; rather it is for their benefit; for I gravely doubt the success or the safety to themselves of a few young men carrying western educations into China, shut off, as China is by exclusion laws of the West, from the enlightening and uplifting influence of migration thence of her people generally; for if you are to use in China your western educations to the best advantage and in the fullest scope, you will be apt to incur the enmity of the reactionary elements about you.

The real reason Chinese and Japanese immigration is opposed in the United States is a prevalent mistaken belief that opportunity to labor is created and controlled by demand and supply of laborers. This opinion pervades all classes of people, and the error finds no refutation from the colleges or the learned. It is a great and terrible mistake. Assuming the idea to be true, it becomes the concern of the laboring element of the country, the part of it which is organized and politically active, to create conditions which maintain a scarcity of laborers on one hand, and a scarcity of products of labor on the other. If things be scarce there will be a demand for laborers to supply things, and if at the same time laborers be scarce those who are employed will receive higher wages for their work, for of course scarcity means high prices and high prices means high wages. This is the condition which is now inflicting itself upon the United States as upon Europe. The idea also extends to keeping out of the country all imports, for if products of labor come into the country, there must be less demand for labor here to make such things in this country. The laborers therefore back the protectionist view that foreign commerce is only beneficial to the country when it consists of goods going out of the country in exchange for gold coming in. I cannot go into the deeps of the economic idea here tonight, except to tell you that the doctrine is all wrong. It is not the law that either a scarcity of laborers or a scarcity of products benefits the laborer or the country of which he is a part; save for a few individuals who are the pampered beneficiaries of a false principle, it is ruinous to both. God did not so create the world and mankind that the presence of one man in lawful work should be a harm to his fellow; or that the exchange of the products of the labors of two men, whether they be respectively across the street or across an ocean, should be a harm to either; a laborer is not harm but a benefit to his fellow wherever he is, and to his country and to their country, and the larger the number of men at work the greater the benefit to all. Demand for labor does not arise through scarcity of things, but through abundance of things, which no sooner are created than they must be transported and distributed for consumption, or they are converted into other forms for such consumption; hence the more you have of things, the greater is the call upon industry and upon men to operate upon things, and this comprises labor and the opportunity to labor, or, as we call it, employment.

The condition brought about by the error produces many matters which seem to have no relation to the error. The California land question, for instance, and all the anti-oriental legislation ever enacted in the United States or in any state thereof, have been produced through this error. But the most remarkable of all its effects is the growth of race hatred. Everywhere the presence of Orientals is looked upon as being inimical to the peoples amongst whom they appear. In the United States, Canada, Australia they "will not assimilate with the white race," hence cannot be permitted amongst them. In Mexico amongst the copper colored peons, you are "leeches," as General Carranza calls you,* and you will not assimilate with the Mexicans. In the Philippines amongst the bronze Filipino, you are utterly intolerable and "cannot assimliate with the natives." In the Hawaiias where the dusky, good-natured and indolent Kanakas pervade, you are utterly unassimilable and will "drive the native out" if you are permitted entry. So in Africa, so everywhere, in fact even in one part of Asia against another, the going thence of yourselves or the Japanese has come or is coming to be treated as an assault upon everybody upon any shore where you land. This feeling and this view, I say, is merely due to the primary mistake, the economic error, I have mentioned. With that corrected in the minds of men—and it could with a few years of real effort be corrected the world over—with that corrected, all this race hatred would disappear. Men would no longer feel or express antipathy toward you, when they understood and realized that they were vastly benefited, and not harmed, by your presence. They would welcome you amongst them with glad hearts just as we here in California welcome the men from the Eastern States (all of us except the labor unions, who hate those immigrants just as they hate you), and just as we Californians welcomed you here in this land when you first came to us in the early fifties, at a time when it was generally believed that your presence here was a benefit to us.

The evil, therefore, that lies at the bottom of this whole immigration question, and all that flows from it and will flow, is this one point, that opportunity to labor is not created, controlled or even affected by demand and supply of laborers. The economic condition that we stand in the presence of is akin to those conditions we find in pathology. We have a disease, men are appalled by its epidemic; people are out of work and are destroyed by thousands; a few, doctors, nurses, hospitals, druggists, even profit by the condition; but the mass and the country suffers, the government is perplexed and confounded. Some investigator comes forward with a statement that the disease is due to a germ. He is scoffed at by doctors and druggists, and government considers him unworthy of notice. Presently the investigator isolates his germ, and tells how he did it; he tests it, introduces it into healthy bodies and produces the disease; then having the germ, he supplies a serum with which he cures the disease. Doctors still scoff, and government is still heedless. ''Why should this fellow way off yonder in the woods have anything worth noticing? If anything like that were possible, some college professor would have found it and brought it forth; instead, the professors are all against it, say it is not so; let us have done with this man.'' I am the fellow with the germ and the serum. My reading of years on this subject has not shown me that in this great immigration and labor question, anyone but myself has ever come forward with *error upon demand and supply of laborers,* as the reason for the wrong conditions. The serum is publicity, education of the public. I carry it to doctors, to government, those able to recognize it, to see and measure the germ plainly through the micrometer of the mind, and they refuse to look and see; their fathers refused to look into the telescope of Gallileo and thereby wreck their own erroneous notions of the celestial universe, notions arrived at without a telescope. ''How can it be so when no professor says it is so, and what business has this fellow yonder in San Francisco got with mixing up in questions of this sort? How can he be right or worthy of notice?'' Meanwhile the multitudes perish, the seeds of war sown thick over the world sprout their crops of spears and bayonets, and ripen toward the harvest of widespread human slaughter.

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*Since this address was delivered, the edict of the insurgent government of Mexico has gone forth against the Japanese as well as the Chinese, and both are prohibited from landing on those shores of Mexico under revolutionary control. In 1901 I saw in Mexico many evidences which convinced me that the Chinese there would be subject to massacre at the first revolution fomented on behalf of "the people." This has since occurred on a considerable scale, and the hatred is now extended to the Japanese. The latter in large numbers have recently been migrating to Brazil as laborers and agriculturists. A few days ago reports came of serious revolutions, and sieges of towns in central Brazil, the disturbances being due to "race differences;" the meagre reports in the press dispatches failing in the information as to what race or races were involved in the difficulty. The fact, however, that revolution has arisen in three districts of Brazil, and that the troubles are over race, points inevitably to the fact that if the Japanese are not implicated in the present disturbances they certainly will be so involved later on. The moving of people out of Japan to reside in any part of the Western world, with the mind of the West filled with the economic error upon immigration which now besets it, is simply sending forth people to either certain destruction, or to the stirring up with the nations in which they settle of political difficulties to perplex the home government and to provoke riots in Japan. If Japan continues indifferent to this economic problem in the west, she must at least content herself with realizing that she is bottled up in Asia.

If any one ever comes forward possessed of the understanding and sufficiently equipped to explode this error, the immigration question will be solved, the labor question will be solved; the opposition to immigration, Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Italians, Bulgarians, Slavs and the rest—will end, and the Chinese exclusion law and Japanese ''gentlemen's agreement'' will crumble into dust, and our people will invite again the immigration of China and Japan, as we did before. Only a campaign of education upon the subject can effect the change; and considering the tremendous issues at stake with the nations of the Orient in a continuance of this condition in the United States, I have for years been striving with the people and statesmen of China and Japan to get them to understand the problem, to the end that they would bring about such a campaign amongst the American people.

I have at last reluctantly concluded, however, that the Oriental peoples cannot be moved in this matter, that they will not install the desired campaign, and that whatever calamities must befall the nations in consequence of the maintenance of exclusion, must come to pass. Not without strenuous endeavor to awaken the Orient to its danger, and complete non-success attendant thereupon, have I reached this conclusion. I have for six years importunated every Japanese official with whom I came in contact to see the danger to his country of the existing condition, but without success. I have written to Japanese statesmen, philosophers and business men in Japan, scores of letters elucidating the subject, and the feeling that I now have is that my expositions have not been useful or even welcome. Two years ago I wrote a series of twenty-five articles upon the subject which I caused to be printed weekly in the leading daily newspaper of Hongkong; but no attention whatever was paid in the Orient to these articles that I have learned. If my experience had been that of myself alone I should perhaps feel that my proposals were but folly and my warnings were but the manifestations of a disturbed mental state. But my experience has been the experience of others. Some two years ago, Mr. T. S. Sutton, an American gentleman of learning and wide general experience, living in Los Angeles, came across my articles then appearing through the newspaper in Hongkong. He came to San Francisco to call upon me, and remaining here a week, he became imbued with the doctrines of truth as I laid them before him. Returning to Los Angeles, and being known among the Chinese of that city, he directed a movement for arousing China upon this subject to the end that a campaign of education amongst the people of the United States be installed. During a whole year he did no other work than writing letters upon this subject which he caused to be circulated by thousands to newspapers and public men of China. He did not even, so far as I know, receive so much as a reply to any missive he sent, and at the end of a year he ceased his efforts, realizing that he had accomplished nothing whatever. In the meantime, he had, however, converted five or six educated Chinese in Los Angeles, and these men joined him in the effort to arouse their countrymen. I have never in my life read such letters as were written by these Chinese men. Learned, wise and able as they were, they teemed with the energy of indignation at the oppressions of the Americans and the world upon their countrymen, and assailed the ignorance that permitted it with a vehemence that I felt must move the very stones of the Chinese wall, much less the minds of the Chinese statesmen as stolid, indeed, it has seemed to me, as the stones of that wall. It was all of no use, against the density of that ignorance the impingement of no warning, however forcefully driven, could make a breach; and they, Dr. Chan Kiu Sing at their head, like Mr. Sutton, were compelled to give over their thankless task.

Generally speaking both the Chinese and Japanese in the United States do not wish free entry herein of their countrymen.* They are extremely anxious to prevent discriminatory legislation against Chinese and Japanese, for such are themselves, and to possess equal rights and privileges with those of all other peoples in the country. They refuse to believe that the feeling of hatred against them, and the discriminatory legislation, and the various though non-official persecutions to which they are subjected as a race, has anything whatever to do with immigration, and they have no ear for anyone seeking to point out to them the relation between the two. Their idea of removing this offensive legislation, and of securing equal rights, citizenship among the number, is to lead good and useful lives as individuals, do nothing to oppose the views of any persons within the country, and try to cultivate the good will of Americans. They think thereby they can ''live down'' the feeling that everywhere exists against them. They are very much mistaken. They can never ''live down'' race hatred. They can never find favor in the eyes of people who believe that their presence in the country is hurtful to the American people. Where would you find more useful and less offensive persons than those Japanese farmers about Lodi who purchased desert areas of shallow soil there and converted them into a vast garden blooming with berry blossoms. None could deny that every interest in California with whom they had any dealings was richer, and every white man within those interests was better and happier for the existence of those Japanese, and yet the race-hating Governor of California conducted the Secretary of State of the United States through that district and invited him to see in these smiling farms the reason why the California legislature should deny to Japanese the right to own land in this State. The causes of this hatred I shall refer to later on, for the present let me remark that Orientals do not want free entry thither of their own people. In this they are entirely selfish. ''What you propose,'' said a Japanese official to me once, ''would be unfair to the Japanese who are here.'' In other words, they regard themselves in relation to their countrymen not within this country just as our labor unionists regard them. They consider that if Japanese came freely into the country competition would be presented to them in their jobs, and their rate of wages would go down. I cannot enter into discussion of this phase of our Pacific Coast wage question at this time, I can only say that wages have never been so reduced on the Atlantic seaboard wherein yearly pours a million emigrants, not one whit better people than those we received here from the Orient. Undoubtedly, through the influence of labor unionism in San Francisco, and in a lesser degree all over the United States, wages are keyed up too high, being fixed as they are at the breaking point, often indeed far above the breaking point, as they were a while ago, when parades of men for whom there was no employment marched through the streets of San Francisco, the line bannered with the legend ''We are starving! $3 for a day of eight hours, or we won't work!'' The fact is that in the days when Chinese and Japanese immigration was free on this Coast we had high wages; not so high as the wages ruling at present, it is true, though our most prosperous period was in those days. What *would be* lowered is the cost of living, now so absurdly high that in many cases those who are receiving these high wages must subsist on the coarsest and often the scantiest food. It is of not the slightest benefit that laborers receive high wages, in a condition of high prices for everything they consume. What the laborer really receives for his labor is not money but *things*—the things he buys with his money; if things be abundant he will get much for his wages; if they be scarce and high, he will receive little wage, through the metal he gets as his pay be too heavy to carry home. There is no doubt that with free immigration with Asia on this Coast there would be a vastly greater abundance of everything that exists than at present and real wages in consequence, would be greatly increased.

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*It will be remembered that the Chinese Six Companies very strongly favored the appointment of Senator A. Caminetti as Immigration Commissioner of the United States at San Francisco, notwithstanding he had for years been one of the most active antagonists of Chinese immigration on this coast. And Dr. Sidney L. Gulick of Tokio, said to be in charge of a campaign of education of the Japanese in the United States to effect non-discrimination of the resident Japanese, securing to them equal rights and naturalization, proposed to the State Department in Washington a scheme of immigration restriction applicable to all immigrants to the United States, which would have permanently fixed the immigration from Japan at about 220 per year. What Dr. Gulick and those behind him were looking to was not the effect which suspended migration with the West was having or would have on Japan, but the privilege and comfort of the resident Japanese, which had he attained all he sought, either at Washington or through his campaign, would have benefited Japan, or the people in Japan, not even the slightest. See "A New Immigration Policy" (pamphlet), by Prof. Sidney L. Gulick.

The whole white race, in all the nations of the continents, of Europe, of America, of Africa, are now moving to wall up the people of Asia within the boundaries of their several nations, to prevent them from having intercourse with the western world. You have recently seen that the Mexican chiefs are preventing you from entering their country, and are arranging legislation to drive out those of you who are there, just as the California legislature is driving you, both Chinese and Japanese, out of California. They are keeping you out driving you out everywhere. What effect is this bottling up going to have on your respective contries? What effect did it have on you during the centuries you remained in isolation? Why, you did not progress at all, notwithstanding you had some intercourse with the small nations about you, Siam, Annan, Chosen, even with India and the islands of Asia; you did not progress, you are at a simmering standstill. Now you are to be thrown back into that condition of darkness and weakness, just when you are trying to move out of it, and while you are surrounded by the powerful white nations of Europe, on Asiatic territory, who are menacing your national integrity. Do not think you can stand these nations off from their aggressions and incursions, if you remain weak? No, you have got to become strong, strong along the lines of modern civilization if you wish to hold your countries in Chinese and Japanese hands, otherwise the Europeans will overrun you and take your governments away from you; and you cannot become strong and developed, unless you have the benefits of Western intercourse, which is migration. Suppose one of *their* countries were walled up by China and Japan against their immigrant peoples going out anywhere into the world, do you think they would stand that sort of thing any longer than they could get their warships cleared for battle? Where would Germany's South American trade be today for instance, were it not for German immigration to those countries? You must remember that while the white race is bottling up your countries so you cannot go to any country of the white race, cannot go in some instances even, from one country to another in Asia, they have the whole white world free and open amongst themselves, and may freely imbibe by processes of migration the light of one nation by another. Have you ever tried to balance in your minds from the standpoint of progress in civilization a nation shut off from migration with a nation to whom migration with the whole world is free and open?

Someone has asked me here tonight to express my views upon the future of Japan under this isolated condition. My answer is if Japan will not come forward and move this campaign in the United States which will wipe out those laws, she should forthwith abandon her idea of being a nation standing between Asia and the West, treating herself as a nation apart from the rest of Asia, regarding herself as a sort of half Western nation, a vehicle or avenue for the introduction of Western civilization into the continent of Asia. She must get rid of that notion at once, and realize that she is altogether Asiatic, that her interests lie wholly with Asia. She must turn to China and earnestly try to fan into activity and uplift there what of modern civilization she has imbibed from the West, and prepare for the wars which Asia must wage to drive the white out of Asia. This task she must set for herself and she can move upon it none too speedily; if she does not, the white will have her government as he will have that of China and this within the next half century. Japan has stood off the white in one war, but for her success in which she would have now hovering over her an enemy who would be threatening her existence as a sovereign entity. She must be brought to feel that the war with Russia was but the beginning of a series of wars, and she cannot meet these without the aid of China. It will be a war of ''Asia for the Asiatics'' against the white. It will be a gigantic reign and realm of bloodshed, but none the less necessary if her sovereignty is to be maintained. Such would not be necessary, and the rule of peace would pervade the eastern world as the people moved upward with those of the West in a common civilization, if she should set about removing exclusion of immigration in the West; but so far, no Oriental nation has shown either the statesmanship to study the subject, or the disposition to undertake the task. I thank you.

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SOME REASONS

FOR

CHINESE EXCLUSION

MEAT vs. RICE.

AMERICAN MANHOOD

AGAINST

ASIATIC COOLIEISM

CALIFORNIA
STATE
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WHICH SHALL SURVIVE?

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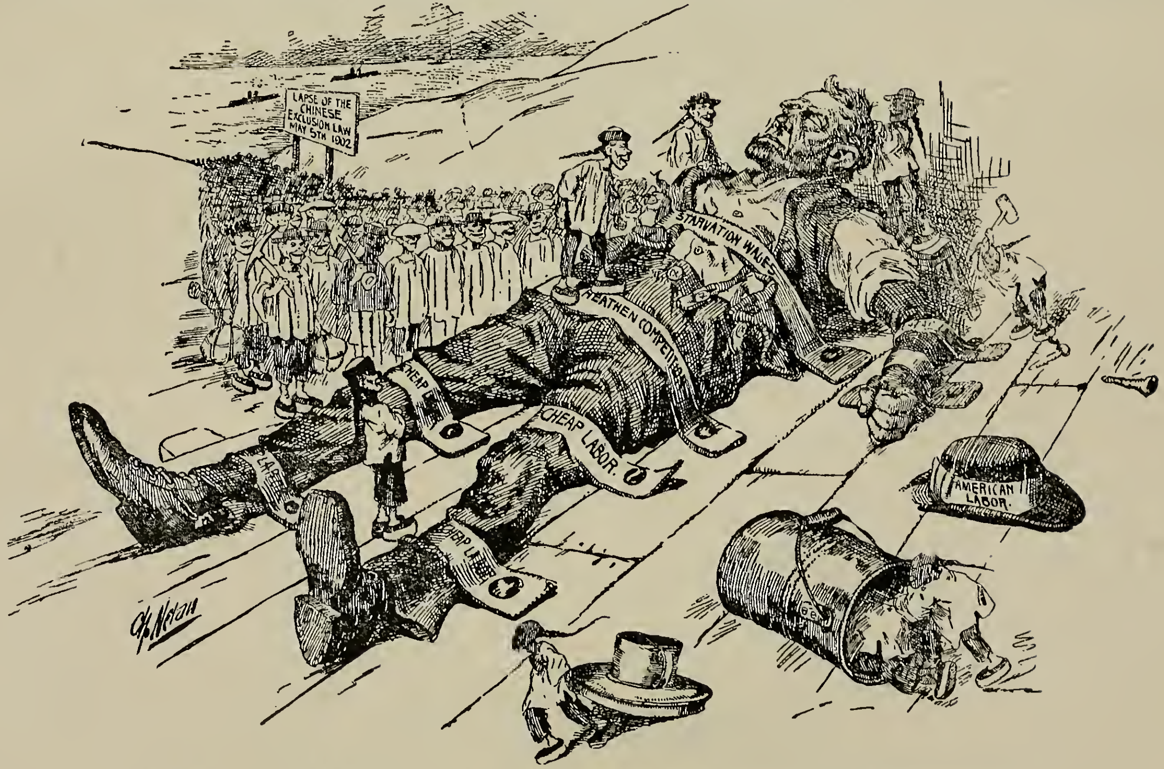
The American Gulliver and Chinese Lilliputians.



SHALL THE LAST SPIKE BE DRIVEN?

(From the Philadelphia North American.)

INTRODUCTION.

In view of the near expiration of the present law excluding Chinese laborers from coming to the United States and the recognized necessity of either re-enacting the present or adopting a similar law, the American Federation of Labor has determined to present its reasons and solicit the co-operation of not only all of its affiliated organizations, but also of all citizens who may consider the preservation of American Institutions and the welfare of a majority of our people of sufficient importance to assist in this work.

To those anxious or willing to familiarize themselves with the actual conditions and with the causes which prompt us at this time to present our case, a careful perusal of this little pamphlet is recommended.

We have been to some trouble in obtaining the data herein contained, but were extremely careful in presenting only such as is entirely reliable and obtained through official sources. We furthermore desire to assure our readers that in maintaining our position we are not inspired by a scintilla of prejudice of any kind, but with the best interests of our country and people uppermost in our mind simply request fair consideration.

HISTORICAL.

It is now more than fifty years ago since the first Chinese laborers entered the United States by way of California. From a book entitled "Chinese in California" we obtain the following figures: On the first of January, 1850, having been attracted by the gold, there were in California, of Chinese, 789 men and 2 women. In January, 1851, there were 4,018 men and 7 women. In May, 1852, 11,780 men and 7 women. At this time the State tried to stay the current of immigration by imposing a tax as a license to mine. In 1868, when the Burlingame Treaty was ratified, there had arrived in California about 80,000 Chinese. How many have arrived since no person knows, for they come in so many and devious ways that a correct accounting is beyond human ken.

In the year preceding the enactment of the first Restriction act the Chinese immigration at San Francisco exceeded the entire increase of the white population of the State of California for the same year, from births, interstate migration and European immigration combined.

In the early settlement of that State, now unquestionably one of the grandest in the Union, when mining was the chief industry and labor, by reason of its scarcity, well paid, the presence of a few thousands of Chinese, who were willing to work in occupations then seriously in want of labor and at lower wages than the standard, caused no serious alarm or discomfort. The State of California at that time presented more or less a great mining camp, industrial or agricultural development not then being thought of. But this admission by no means warrants the assumption of pro-Chinese sentimentalists that without Chinese labor the Pacific States would not have advanced as rapidly as they have done.

A well-known California physician replies to this assertion, "that an advancement with an incubus like the Chinese is like the growth of a child with a malignant tumor upon his back. At the time of manhood death comes of the malignity."

The tales of their prosperity soon reached China, and the Six Companies were formed for the purpose of providing means and transportation—but few having sufficient to come on their own account—binding their victims in exchange therefor by contracts which virtually enslaved them for a term of years. They became the absolute chattels of the Tongs, or companies, and were held, and to this day are held just as ever, into strict compliance with the terms entered into, not by any moral obligation, but by fear of death. Each Tong employs a number of men known as Highbinders or Hatchetmen, who are paid to enforce compliance, even if it must be by death of culprit. The police records of San

Francisco will bear ample evidence to the truth of this, as also will a report of the Legislative Committee of 1876. This committee concludes its report as follows: "These tribunals are formed by the several Chinese companies or Guilds, and are recognized as legitimate authorities by the Chinese population. They levy taxes, command masses of men, intimidate interpreters and witnesses, enforce perjury, regulate trade, punish the refractory, remove witnesses beyond the reach of our courts, control liberty of action, and prevent the return of Chinese to their home in China without their consent. In short they exercise a despotic sway over one-seventh of the population of the State of California. They invoke the processes of law only to punish the independent actions of their subjects, and it is claimed that they exercise the death penalty upon those who refuse obedience to their decrees.

"We are disposed to acquit these companies and secret tribunals of the charge of deliberate intent to supercede the authority of the State. The system is inherent and part of the fibre of the Chinese mind, and exists because the Chinese are thoroughly and permanently alien to us in language and interests. It is, nevertheless, a fact, that these companies or tribunals do nullify and supercede the State and National authorities. And the fact remains that they constitute a foreign government within the boundaries of the Republic."

These conclusions were arrived at after a thorough and careful investigation, during which a large number of competent witnesses testified. Among the many there appeared D. J. Murphy, district attorney of the city and county of San Francisco; Mr. Ellis, chief of police of the city and county of San Francisco, Charles T. Jones, district attorney of Sacramento County; Mat Karcher. chief of police of the city of Sacramento; Davis Louderback, judge of the police court of San Francisco, all of whom testified that it was their belief that the Chinese had a tribunal of their own and that it was impossible to convict a Chinese criminal upon Chinese evidence, unless the secret tribunal had determined to have him convicted. In a great many cases it was believed that they had convicted innocent people upon perjured evidence. District Attorney Jones, of Sacramento, testified as to the murder of Ah Quong, the court interpreter, who was murdered in broad daylight in the streets of Sacramento, because certain defendants were not convicted in an alleged abduction. The court records of California fairly teem with the evidences of every crime imaginable, while the coroner's office and police headquarters can furnish some data as to the perpetration of crimes still unpunished. Such cases are not by any means ancient history, as is proven by the fact that in a Washington daily November 5, 1901, the following news item appears:

ATTACKED BY HIGHBINDERS.

Wife of a Chinese Merchant Stabbed in San Francisco.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 4.—Highbinder vengeance has led to one death in Chinatown and the dangerous wounding of a rich merchant's wife. Last Friday night Chin Chew, lookout for a fan-tan game, was shot dead by unknown assassins as he sat back of his little wicket. The police have absolutely no clue to his murderer.

Last night Long Kee, the eighteen-year-old wife of a wealthy Chinese merchant, Ching Kee, was stabbed twice as she was entering her home after a visit to Madame Wu, the wife of the Chinese Minister. Madame Wu is visiting her brother, Consul General Ho Yow, and it was soon after leaving the Chinese consulate that the young wife was set upon by assassins. They stabbed her twice and left her for dead, but she will recover. Both crimes are due to a feud between the Chin and Wong families growing out of a quarrel over real estate.

Chin was the first victim and his clan soon followed with the striking down of the young woman, who belongs to the Wong faction."

These are by no means isolated cases; in San Francisco they hardly attract attention, they are so common.

From Mr. T. T. Williams, of the San Francisco Examiner, we learn that within the ten days from the 4th to the 14th of November, 1901, four Chinese were killed in San Francisco by Chinese, and that further warning was posted on the walls in Chinatown, San Francisco, that unless heavy restitution was made by a certain Chinese family to another, five members of the former would be murdered within ten days.

These are hardly the little, mild, innocent and inoffensive strangers Eastern pro-Chinese were wont to consider them, and we presume there are still some who so believe.

But we do not intend to enter into this question in detail, as it would take us away from others, just as if not of more importance, and we have called attention to it only because some of our sentimental friends have demonstrated a tendency to elevate the little brown man upon an unusually high moral and law-abiding pedestal. A more intimate knowledge of the Chinese in California would disabuse their mind so quickly that we fancy many would be ashamed to own that they ever harbored such convictions.

From the reports of the county assessors of the State of California in 1884, we learn that while the Chinese form one-sixth of the population of the State, they pay less than one four-hundredth part of the taxes. During that year there were 198 Chinese prisoners in the State prison, at an expense to the State of not less than $21.600 per year, or $12,000 in excess of the taxes collected from all the Chinese throughout the whole State.

But to return to the historical part of the narrative: Beginning with the most menial avocations they gradually invaded one industry after another until they not merely took the places of our girls as domestics and cooks, the laundry from the poorer of our white women, but the places of the men and boys, as boot and shoemakers, cigarmakers, bagmakers, miners, farm laborers, brickmakers, tailors, slippermakers, etc. In the ladies' furnishing line they have absolute control, displacing hundreds of our girls, who would otherwise find profitable employment. Whatever business or trade they enter is doomed for the white laborer, as competition is simlpy impossible. Not that the Chinese would not rather work for high wages than low, but in order to gain control he will work so cheaply as to bar all efforts of his competitor. But not only has the workingman gained this bitter experience, but the manufacturers and merchants have been equally the sufferers. The Chinese laborer will work cheaper for a Chinese employer than he will for a white man, as has been invariably proven, and, as a rule, he boards with his Chinese employer. The Chinese merchant or manufacturer will undersell his white confrere, and if uninterrupted will finally gain possession of the entire field. Such is the history of the race wherever they have come in contact with other peoples. None can withstand their silent and irresistible flow, and their millions already populate and command the labor and the trade of the islands and nations of the Pacific.

Baron Alexander von Hubner, former Austrian Ambassador to France, when returning from his travels around the world in 1885, delivered a discourse at the Oriental Museum, in Vienna, the following extracts of which are hereby given:

"The war of England and France against the Celestial Empire was an historical fact of world-wide importance, not because of the military successes achieved—the most famous of which was the plunder and destruction of the Imperial summer palace at Pekin—but because the allies cast down the walls through which 400,000,000 of inhabitants were hermetically closed in from the outside world. *With the intention of opening China to the Europeans, the globe has been thrown open to the Chinese.* Who travels nowadays through the interior of the Flowery Kingdom? No one with the exception of the missionaries, whose presence was already tolerated there, and in addition to these there are a few explorers. But the Chinese are streaming over the greater part of the globe, and are also forming colonies, albeit after their own fashion. Highly gifted, although inferior to the Caucasian in the highest spheres of mental activity; endowed with untiring industry; temperate to the utmost abstemiousness; frugal; a born merchant; a first-class cultivator, especially in gardening; distinguished in every kind of handicraft, the son of the Middle Kingdom slowly, surely, and unremarked is supplanting the Europeans wherever they are brought together. I am speaking of them only as I have found them. In 1871 the entire English trade with China, amounting then as now to £42,000,000 sterling, was transacted through English firms. The four great houses, of which one was American, were in Shanghai, while the smaller ones were distributed among the treaty ports. Added to these were the middle-men, as the sale of English imports in the interior of the Empire was effected through native merchants. In addition to this the firm of Russell & Co. owned twenty steamers that kept up the commercial intercourse between the treaty ports, extending to the Yangtse river. Nowadays, with the exception of some great influential English firms, all the same trade, together with the Russell steamers, has passed into the hands of Chinese merchants or of Chinese corporations. In Macao, since nearly 400 years in possession of the Portuguese, are to be seen magnificent palaces, some of which date from the sixteenth century; they are situated in the finest part of the city, where the Chinese were not in the habit of building; and yet the greater number of these palaces have passed by purchase into the hands of rich Chinese, and are now inhabited by them.

"On my first visit to Singapore in 1871 the population consisted of 100 white families, of 20,000 Malays, and a few thousand Chinese. On my return there in the beginning of 1884 the population was divided, according to the official census, into 100 white families, 20,000 Malays, and 86,000 Chinese. A new Chinese town had sprung up, with magnificent stores, beautiful residences and pagodas. I imagined that I was transported to Canton. The country lying to the south point of Indo-China, which a few years ago was almost uninhabited, is now filling up with Chinese. The number of the sons of the Flowery Kingdom who emigrated to that point and to Singapore amounted to 100,000 in 1882 to 150,000 in 1883, and last year an important increase to these numbers was expected.

"I never met more Chinese in San Francisco than I did last summer, and in Australia the Chinese element is ever increasing in importance. To a man who will do the same work for half price all doors are open. Even in the South Sea Islands the influence of Chinese labor is already felt. The important trade of the Gilbert Islands is in the hands of a great Chinese firm. On the Sandwich Islands the sons of the Middle Kingdom are spreading every year. The North Americans, until now the rulers of that island under the native kings of Hawaii, are already feeling the earth shake under their feet, as in vain they resist these inroads. All these things have I seen with my own eyes, excepting in Chili and Peru, countries that I did not visit. From official documents, however, I extract the fact that since 1860, 200,000 Chinese have landed there—an enormous number, considering the small European population in those countries.

(How does that statement compare with the assertion of Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese Minister, and Consul General Ho Yow, that the Chinese do not emigrate to any large degree?)

"Europe with her 300,000,000, China with her 400,000,000, represent, with the exception of India, the two most over-populated parts of the world. Both send their sons to foreign climes. They consist of two mighty streams, of which one is white and the other yellow. In the annals of history there is no mention of the migration of such immense masses of people. A series of questions now arise. How will the status of the old continent be affected by the emigration of so many of its sons? Now suffering from a plethora, after such a severe bleeding, will Europe remain in a full, healthy condition, or, similar to Spain, will she lapse into a state of anemia? Who can tell? What fate is in store for the young, rising, aspiring powers of Central Asia that are neither kingdoms nor republics, and what will be the reactionary effect on the mother country and on Europe? We do not know. What will be the result of the meeting of these white and yellow streams? Will they flow peacefully on parallel lines in their respective channels, or will their commingling lead to chaotic events? We cannot tell. Will Christian society and Christian civilization in their present form disappear, or will they emerge victorious from the conflict, carrying their living, fruitful, everlasting principles to all the corners of the earth? We cannot know. These are the unsolved problems, the secrets of the future, hidden within the womb of time. What we now distinguish is only the first clangor of the overture of the great drama of the coming times. The curtain is not rung up, as the plot is only to be worked out in the twentieth century."

In the light of events in China, 1900-1901, how prophetic are the closing sentences of this statesman and philosopher; would it not be well to heed?

Many years ago Rudyard Kipling, while traveling through China, was so profoundly impressed with the character of the people that he said: "There are three races who can work, but there is only one that can swarm. These people work and spread. They pack close and eat everything and can live on nothing. They will overwhelm the world." Kipling saw Canton, and says of it: "A big blue sink of a city, full of tunnels, all dark, and inhabited by yellow devils; a city that Dore ought to have seen. I'm devotedly thankful that I am never going back there. The Mongol will begin to march in his own good time. I intend to wait till he marches up to me."

He has marched up to us and already has part possession of one of the fairest of our States. The check given to his advance by the Exclusion Law has saved us temporarily, and by reason of their gradual decrease somewhat modified the economic condition, which for more than a generation had made of the State of California an outcast among its sister States.

To those of our citizens still in middle age the struggle of the Pacific Coast must yet be fresh in mind. A growing young giant, kept to the earth by a weight he found himself unable to rise with. His appeals, petitions, and prayers for succor from those able to help availed him naught. In spite of his herculean efforts he was not even able to shift this burden, and when his final collapse became merely a question of time, help came sparingly—not the help he had a right to expect, but some little of the weight was taken off; the beginning being made, by persistent effort greater help was extended until, the burden being considerably lighter, the giant was able to rise. Is the burden to be again increased? Is the young giant of the West to be again crushed to the earth by an avalanche, against which other and older nations have found all resistance futile?

Our recently acquired possessions may furnish us a finger-mark it might be well to consider.

A BIT OF HISTORY.

A century and a half ago the Chinese began to immigrate to Manila in the same quiet, docile, "childlike" and bland manner that they first came to our coast. They were quiet, humble, submissive, and industrious, accepting at first menial positions and light jobs. After some years they had greatly increased in numbers, and usurped, as they have done here, many of the lighter lines of industries, and had in several of them gained a monopoly and crowded out the Spanish operatives. As they increased in numerical force they became defiant of the laws, and when still more numerous they became aggressive and committed deeds of violence and felonies of all kinds.

The Spanish citizens sent a petition to the home government in Spain to have a law enacted to prevent them from coming to the island. No notice was taken of it. After waiting a year they sent a committee of the leading citizens with a renewal of the petition to Spain. They were put off with fair promises as to what would be done, and returned home satisfied that they had accomplished the intent of their mission. But two years passed by and no relief came to them. A second commission was then sent with a strong appeal to the King to grant the relief asked for. He said it should be granted. They, too, went home, but when between three or four years had gone with no performance of the King's promise, and the Chinese in the meantime becoming more aggressive and insolent, an outbreak occurred, upon their killing a leading citizen, when the Spaniards arose in their might and strength and slew every Chinaman on the island—between 20,000 and 25,000—with the exception of five or six, who they sent back to China to tell what had been done to the others.

Some thirty-five or forty years subsequent to this massacre of the Chinese, when most of the participants in it had died off and the event was only a matter of tradition—much the same as the events of our war now are with the rising generation—the Chinese again began to venture to the island, and, after a series of years, the same scenes of appealing to the home government in Spain, and the same absence of attention, the same subterfuges as to affording relief to the prayer of the petitioners resulted. Then another massacre took place in which a larger number of the Celestials were slaughtered, and the race was annihilated on the island.

About forty years after this last onslaught they again began to immigrate to the island, but having learned caution from the experience of their predecessors, they avoided all irritating actions and quietly absorbed the coffee and spice plantations, and then gradually engrossed the various lines of business. Now the Spanish residents who were in business there have all been crowded out, and the shipping, banking, insurance, and mercantile business and all the leading industries have fallen into the hands of the Chinese.

It may not be out of place here to quote some of the official opinions of men in whom the American people should have implicit confidence, most especially since by reason of their position, they may be considered as properly qualified and thoroughly reliable:

GENERAL MacARTHUR'S REPORT.

General MacArthur, formerly military governor of the Philippines, in his last report to the War Department, made the following statements in regard to the difficulties of enforcing the Chinese immigration laws in the Philippines:

"The enforcement of the immigration laws is at present in charge of the customs service, which in the last year was charged with the application of these in the case of more than 25,000 Chinese entering and leaving the islands, in addition to a large number of other immigrants of different nationalities. The present facilities are inadequate to the needs of this branch, the required inspection frequently having to be made on board ship.

"The system is unsatisfactory, and an immigration station is needed, where immigrants can be landed and a systematic examination had of them and their belongings. By a moderate outlay government property at the mouth of the Pasig river could be adapted for this purpose."

General MacArthur was, like General Otis, vigorously opposed to unrestricted Chinese immigration into the Philippines. In his report, above quoted, he says of the Chinese:

"Such a people, largely endowed as they are with inexhaustible fortitude and determination, if admitted to the archipelago in any considerable numbers during the formative period which is now in process of evolution would soon have direct or indirect control of pretty nearly every productive interest, to the absolute exclusion alike of Filipinos and Americans.

"This view is stated with considerable emphasis, as unmistakable indications are apparent of organized and systematized efforts to break down all barriers, with a view to unrestricted Chinese immigration for the purpose of quick and effective exploitation of the islands; a policy which would not only be ruinous to the Filipino people, but would in the end surely defeat the expansion af American trade to its natural dimensions in what is obviously one of its most important channels. In this connection it may not be improper to state that one of the greatest difficulties attending military efforts to tranquilize the people of the archipelago arises from their dread of sudden and excessive exploitation, which they fear would defraud them of their natural patrimony and at the same time relegate them to a status of social and political inferiority.

"Reiterated assertions to the effect that native labor in the Philippines is unreliable must be accepted as coming almost exclusively from Europeans, who primarily are exploiters, pure and simple, and, as such, have absolutely no interest in the islands beyond the immediate realization of enormous profits. Under the old system the wages of labor were too small to establish anything like a sense of self-interest on the part of employees, and, as a consequence, solicitude for the interests of employers did not exist, and workmen, as a rule, were indifferent as to their own constant employment, and had little concern about the future, as their own wishes or interests were never consulted.

"American experience, so far as public employees are concerned, has not confirmed the declaration of the Europeans. On the contrary it has been found that when properly paid the Filipino is precisely like any other man and holds on to a good place by reason of fidelity and faithful service.

"In view of the foregoing premises, the military administration has rigidly enforced regulations excluding Chinese immigration from the islands; not in a spirit of hostility, but in pursuance of instincts of self-preservation. Individually, a Chinaman represents a unit of excellence that must always command respect and win admiration, but in their organized capacity in the Philippines the Chinese represent an economical army without allegiance or attachment to the country, and which, to a great extent, is beyond the reach of insular authority.

"They are bent upon commercial conquest, and as those in the islands already represent an innumerable host at home, even restricted immigration would represent a serious menace.

"The ultimate interests of America in the East depend so much on a correct solution of this problem that the attitude of the military government in respect thereof is respectfully submitted, with request for very careful consideration of the same; and further action is recommended in the premises looking to gradual decrease of the Chinese now in the islands, which might be partially accomplished by prohibiting the return of all individuals who have been absent for six months, or hereafter may absent themselves from the islands, and remain so absent, for the same time.

If a further endorsement of these facts be necessary we find it in the very recent expressions of General James F. Smith, now judge of the Court of Appeals of the Philippine Islands, who, after an experience of two years and a half in the archipelago, was interviewed by Lilian Ferguson, of the San Francisco Examiner, in the course of which he was asked: "What of the Filipino as a laborer?" "Much has been said against him, but he has been judged under unfair conditions. What could be expected of a man of any color, sweltering under a tropical sun in a harvest field for a peseta and his choe per day. Ten cents and his board, with a family to support! Those who have paid him a fair daily wage—a Mexican dollar—have little complaint to make. I think the Filipino laborer, as a rule, is faithful and efficient when paid a wage commensurate to the labor performed."

"Should labor be imported to the Philippines from the Orient?"

At this question General Smith straightened in his easy chair as I fancy he must have straightened in his saddle at sight of the enemy—he was on the defensive at once.

"A Filipino," he answered, "can't live like a Chinaman. For this reason, if I had no other, I am opposed to the importation to the Philippines of Chinese or Japanese labor. We have seen how disastrously immigration from the Orient resulted right here in California. Surely if the American laborer, with his superior intelligence and industry, has been unable to compete with the Asiatic, what can be expected of the poor Filipino? He would very quickly fall by the wayside. The systematic importation of labor not white would be detrimental. Chinese labor would do all that is claimed for it, but the advantages would be more than counterbalanced by the driving out of the labor market and business field the native element, whose protection and advancement is our first duty."

DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

The people of the Pacific Coast, who by reason of their long enforced contact and bitter experience ought to be credited with some knowledge on the subject, almost unanimously declare that it does.

It is a most serious mistake for the citizens of the Eastern States to believe that the anti-Chinese sentiment is limited to any particular class or faction, creed or nationality.

The sentiment is general; there is practically no division of opinion on that subject. At an election held in 1879 the question of Chinese immigration was submitted to the voters of the State of California as a test of sentiment, and resulted in 154,638 votes being cast against immigration and only 883 votes in favor. In other words, the people of California in proportion of 175 to 1 voted for protection of the Federal Government from Chinese immigration. Surely it cannot be held that this almost unanimous vote of the electors of an entire State was cast without good and sufficient cause, and not as a result of demagogic or irresponsible agitation.

There is no good reason to believe that this sentiment has undergone the slightest change. On the contrary, there is a greater cause for stricter exclusion. Our recently acquired possessions of the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands have added hundreds of thousands of Asiatic coolies to our population, the correct disposal of which already causes serious apprehension to our American statesmen.

But since it is always considered good policy to speak of people as we find them, it may be well to give the result of several official investigations carried on by the State and municipal authorities of California and San Francisco, respectively.

CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA.

John S. Enos, commissioner of the bureau of labor statistics of the State of California from 1883 to 1886, inclusive, made a number of investigations both of a general and individual character.

The boot and shoe and the cigar industry being the most seriously effected, were made special subjects of investigation, the cigar industry in particular revealing a condition of affairs almost too horrible for publication.

The general investigation was completed with the assistance of the various county assessors of the State of California, from the result of which the following table was compiled.

(There is some reason to believe that these returns do not furnish the actual rate paid, as it is an established fact that Chinese laborers work at much lower wages for Chinese employers than they do for white:)

Class of labor.	Average wages.	With or without board.
Domestic servants	$21.50 per month	With
Cooks	20.00 " "	"
Laundrymen	10.00 " "	"
Farmers	22.50 " "	"
Brickmakers	30.00 " "	Without
Slippermakers	4.50 " week	"
Bagmakers	5.25 " "	"
Miners	1.75 " day	"
Canneries	1.00 " "	"
Boot and shoe workers	1.25 " "	"
Cigarmakers doing piece work earn from $4 to $7 per week		"

COST OF LIVING.

Rent per month	$ 2.00 to $ 4.00
Food per month	5.00
Clothing per year	10.00 to 12.00
Food used, home product	25 per cent
Food imported from China	75 per cent
Clothing, American manufacture	20 per cent
Clothing, imported from China	80 per cent
Yearly earnings sent to China	75 per cent

Thus it will be observed that, counting ten months in the year and twenty-six working days per month, wages averaging $1.00 per day, the wages would be $260.00 per year per head, or a total of $27,040,000 paid the Chinese in California in the year 1884. The cost of living per head does not exceed $100.00 per year, including rent. Seventy-five per cent. of his food and clothing is imported from China, so that out of the $260.00 per year earned by the Chinaman, less than $20.00, exclusive of rent, goes to increase the wealth of this nation. As to his mode of living, we shall refer to it later on.

Since this investigation has been held the Chinese have successfully invaded other fields of industry. The ladies' furnishing and undergarment trade is almost entirely under the control of the Chinese. Their stores are scattered everywhere throughout San Francisco, and the American manufacturers have been gradually driven out. One or two who may still remain employ girls at most scanty wages.

The cigar, boot and shoe, broom-making, and pork industries were for many years entirely in the hands of Chinese, depriving many thousands of Americans of their means of livelihood. As their power grew they became more independent, and in the pork industry they had secured so strong a hold that no white butcher dared kill a hog for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Chinese. This state of affairs became so obnoxious and unbearable that the retail butchers could no longer submit, and with the assistance of the wholesale butchers and the citizens generally finally succeeded in wresting the monopoly from the hands of their Chinese oppressors.

In factories owned by white employers the Chinese employees refused to work together with white men, and upon one occasion at least positively struck against them, refusing to work unless the white help was discharged. This instance so aroused the State of California that an anti-Chinese convention was called and held at the city of Sacramento March 10, 1886, in which the most representative citizens of California took part. The convention appointed a committee of five to address a suitable memorial to Congress applying for relief. The committee consisted of Hon. John F, Swift, Ex-Minister to Japan, U. S. Senator; A. A. Sargent, Hon. H. V. Morehouse, Hon. E. A. Davis, and Hon. Elihu Anthony.

There certainly can be no question as to the conservatism of these gentlemen, all of whom had been prominently identified with the growth and development of the State of California.

We desire to quote but a few extracts of this document which was addressed and transmitted to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives:

"That there is more mere money profit in dollars in a homogenous population than in one of the mixed races, while the moral and political objections are unanswerable.

"That, while the Chinaman works industriously enough, he consumes very little, either of his own production or of ours.

"That he imports from China much that he eats and much that he wears, while a vast catalogue of articles consumed by our own people, the production and sale of which makes our commerce and our life what it is, the Chinaman does not use at all.

"That he underbids all white labor and ruthlessly takes its place and will go on doing so until the white laborer comes down to the scanty food and half-civilized habits of the Chinaman, while the net reuslts of his earning are sent regularly out of the country and lost to the community where it was created.

"And while this depleting process is going on the laboring white man to whom the nation must in the long run look for the reproduction of the race and the bringing up and educating of citizens to take the place of the present generation as it passes away, and, above all, to defend the country in time of war, is injured in his comfort, reduced in his scale and standard of life, necessarily carrying down with it his moral and physical stamina.

"But what is even more immediately damaging to the State is the fact that he is kept in a perpetual state of anger, exasperation, and discontent, always bordering on sedition, thus jeopardizing the general peace and creating a state of chronic uneasiness, distrust, and apprehension throughout the entire community.

"If there were no other and higher reasons for getting rid of the Chinese, these facts alone would be sufficient to convince the practical statesman of the necessity of doing so as speedily as possible, to do it lawfully. But there are other and higher considerations involved in the Chinese question than that of mere industrial progress or material development, and to these we invite the attention of the American citizen who places his country and its permanent good above immediate money profit. We assure our fellow countrymen East that the dominance, if not the existence, of the European race in this part of the world is in jeopardy.

"Now and while this territory is still practically unoccupied and within the lifetime of the present generation the type of human species that is to occupy this side of the American continent is to be determined for all time.

"That in the life and death struggles now going on for the posession of the western shores of the American continent, the Chinese have advantages that must secure to them, if not a complete victory, at least a drawn battle in a division of occupancy with us.

"To begin with they have a hive of 450,000,000 to draw from, with only one ocean to cross and behind them an impulsive force of hunger unknown to any European people.

"Our common ancestors came to the American continent to found a State. The greatness of a nation does not lie in its money, but in its men and women; and not in their number, but in their quality, in their virtue, honor, integrity, truth, and above all things, in their courage and manhood."

The recent history of China and that of our own country bears evidence sufficient of the truth of these statements made sixteen years ago.

What need of more figures? The reports of the bureau of labor statistics of California of the years 1883-4, 1886, 1890, and 1900 furnish ample proof of the utter impossibility for our race to compete with the Mongolian. Their ability to subsist and thrive under conditions which would mean starvation and suicide to the cheapest laborer of Europe secures to them an advantage which baffles the statesman and economist to overcome, how much less the chances of the laborers pitted in competition against them.

CHINESE LABOR DEGRADES LABOR JUST AS SLAVE LABOR DID.

For many years it was impossible to get white persons to do the menial labor usually performed by Chinese. It was Chinamen's labor, and not fit for white. In the agricultural districts a species of tramp has been created, known as the blanket man. White agricultural laborers seldom find permanent employment; the Chinese are preferred. During harvest time the white man is forced to wander from ranch to ranch and find employment here and there for short periods of time, with the privilege of sleeping in the barns or haystacks. He is looked upon as a vagabond, unfit to associate with his employer or to eat from the same table with him. The negro slave of the South was housed and fed, but the white trash of California is placed beneath the Chinese.

The white domestic servant was expected to live in the room originally built for John, generally situated in the cellar and void of all comforts; frequently unpainted or unpapered, containing a bedstead and a chair; anything was good enough for John, and the white girl had to be satisfied as well. Is it any wonder that self-respecting girls refused to take service under those conditions? And what is true of agricultural laborers and domestics equally applies to the trades in which Chinese were largely employed. Absolute servility was expected from those who took the place of the Chinaman, and it will take years to obliterate these traces of inferiority and re-establish the proper relations of employer and employee.

From the report of the Special Committee on Chinese Immigration to the California State Senate, 1878, we quote the following in this connection:

"A serious objection to slavery, as it existed in the Southern States, was that it tended to degrade white labor. The very same objection exists against Chinese labor in this State.

"The recent troubles in San Francisco are attributable to a class commonly known as 'hoodlums,' young men who have grown up in idleness, without occupation of any kind and who in various ways prey upon society. This class is peculiar to San Francisco. Many of our thinkers argue that it owes its existence to the presence of a large Chinese population. For several years after the settlement of this State by Americans the population was an adult population. There were no boys. As boys grew up they found the places filled by Chinese, and very naturally looked upon any labor they performed as servile and degrading. Their pride whether true or false is immaterial, kept them from entering the lists by the side of an abhorred race. If this view of the subject is correct, a fearful responsibility rests at the door of the advocates of Chinese labor.

"The employment of Chinese as agricultural laborers is most generally in droves, held in some sort of dependence by a head man or agent of the Chinese companies. The workmen live in sheds or in straw stacks, do their own cooking, have no homes, and are without interest in their work or the country. The white laborer who would compete with them must not only pursue the same kind of life, but must, like them, abdicate his individuality. The consequence would be lamentable, even if the white laborer should succeed by such means in driving the Asiatic from the field. We would in that event have a laboring class without homes, without families, and without any of the restraining influences of society.

"The slave owner at the South had an interest in his laborers, and even if the voice of humanity was silenced, yet that interest made him care for them. He gave them houses to live in, took care of them in sickness, and supported them when old age rendered them incapable. The owner of the Chinese laborers in this State has no such interest. His interest is co-extensive with and limited by the ability of his slave to earn money. In sickness he turns him over to the charity of the public. When disabled by age he leaves him to fate. It takes no prophet to foretell that if white labor is brought down to the level of Asiatic labor the white laborer will meet like treatment.

"The slaves of the South were, as a race, kind and faithful. The Chinese, as a race, are cruel and treacherous. In this by contrast all the advantage was with Southern slavery.

"On the whole, it is our judgment that unrestricted Chinese immigration tends more strongly to the degradation of labor, and to the subversion of our institutions, than did slavery at the South. It has all of the disadvantages of the African slavery, and none of its compensations."

SOCIAL HABITS.

Of their social habits, none can form a proper conception unless personally familiar therewith.

From the Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, appointed to investigate and report upon Chinatown, July, 1885.

Appendix Municipal Reports, 1884-1885, page 174: "In a sanitary point of view Chinatown presents a singular anomaly. With the habits, manners, customs, and whole economy of life violating every accepted rule of hygiene; with open cesspools, exhalations from waterclosets, sinks, urinals, and sewers tainting the atmosphere with noxious vapors and stifling odors; with people herded and packed in damp cellars, living literally the life of vermin, badly fed and clothed, addicted to the daily use of opium to the extent that many hours of each day or night are passed in the delirous stupefaction of its influence, it is not to be denied that, as a whole the general health of this locality compares more than favorably with other sections of the city which are surrounded by far more favorable conditions."

Page 164: "The frequent custom with these people is to have the brick and mortar bench where cooking is carried on, the sink, always more or less filthy, and an open, filthy, bad-smelling watercloset, all adjoining each other in the same room, or under the same cover. Frequently a space at the end of this cooking range—if we may call it so—is used as a urinal, the only outlet from which is the absorption of and seepage through some earth placed there for that purpose, while the intermingling odors of cooking, sink, watercloset, and urinal, added to the fumes of opium and tobacco smoke and indescribable, unknowable, all-pervading atmosphere of the Chinese quarter, make up a perfume which can neither be imagined nor described. This is no exaggeration, nor is it a fancy sketch. It is one of the common features of life in Chinatown."

Page 178: "It is not too sweeping a declaration to make to say that there is scarcely a habitation in Chinatown in which the so-called 'Cubic Air Ordinance' is not constantly violated. This constant and habitual violation of the municipal regulation illustrates in the most forcible manner the truth of the assertion which we have already made, that the habits and mode of life among the Chinese here are not much above 'those of the rats of the water front.' "

"It is not the desire or intention of your committee to present any extreme case selected from any particular locality, to illustrate any feature of the peculiarities of Mongolian life in Chinatown, but rather to convey to the board and to the public, as far as it is possible to do so, a fair idea of the condition of things in that locality, and a general comprehension of the mode of life of this class of our population.

"Herewith we present some instances illustrating the ordinary habits of the Chinese laboring classes in the matter of sleeping and living accommodations. They are given as furnishing a fair average example, so far as we have been able to ascertain, of the disregard in which the so-called 'Cubic Air Ordinance' is held by the Chinese, and as possibly illustrating the hopelessness of attempting to enforce it—a point which will be discussed later:

Street.	Number.	Floor.	Number of occupants allowed under the cubic air law.	Number of actual occupants.
Dupont	814½	Sub-basement	9	32
“	“	Basement	21	70
“	“	First floor	7	46
“	“	Second floor	26	60
“	“	Third floor	34	68
Sacramento	817	Basement	6	24
Bartlett alley		“	16	68
Oneida place		10 rms., 1st floor.	31	94
Brooklyn place		First floor	4	24
Jackson	624	Basement	3	5
“	628	“	3	14
“	632	“	2	6
“	“	First floor	3	16
“	620	Basement	3	14
“	622	“	4	20
“	“	“	6	30
“	“	First story	3	6
“	615	Basement	3	16
Washington	737	Second story	3	8
“	735	Basement	10	34
“	733	Second story	4	12
Brenham place	9	“ “	8	24
“ “	“	Third “	8	18
“ “	“	Fourth “	6	22
Clay	767	Second “	7	22
“	“	“ “	4	12
“	804	“ “	2	8
“	809	Basement	3	20
“	812	Second story	5	16

This may be taken as a fair type of the common manner of life in Chinatown among the ordinary laboring classes. There are places much more densely crowded, and some not as densely crowded. But this represents the prevailing rule, and the other extreme (about equally divided), the exception.

Page 180: “Descend into the basement of almost any building in Chinatown at night; pick your way by the aid of the policeman's candle along the dark and narrow passageway, black and grimy with a quarter of a century's accumulation of filth; step with care lest you fall into a cesspool of sewage abominations with which these subterranean depths abound. Now follow your guide through a door, which he forces, into a sleeping room. The air is thick with smoke and fetid with an indescribable odor of reeking vapors. The atmosphere is tangible. Tangible —if we may be licensed to so use the word in this instance—to four out of five of the human senses. Tangible to the sight, tangible to the touch, tangible to the taste, and, oh, how tangible to the smell! You may even hear it as the opium smoker sucks it through his pipe bowl into his tainted lungs, and you breathe it yourself as if it were of the substance and tenacity of tar. It is a sense of horror you have never before experienced, revolting to the last degree, sickening and stupefying. Through this semi-opague atmosphere you discover perhaps eight or ten —never less than two or three—bunks, the greater part of all of which are occupied by two persons, some in a state of stupefaction from opium, some rapidly smoking themselves into that condition, and all in dirt and filth. Before the door was opened for your entrance every aperture was closed, and here, had they not been thus rudely disturbed, they would have slept in the dense and poisonous atmosphere until morning, proof against the baneful effects of the carbonic-acid gas generated by this human defiance of chemical laws, and proof against all the zymotic poisons that would be fatal to a people of any other race in an hour of such surroundings and such conditions.

It is from such pest-holes as these that the Chinese cooks and servants who are employed in our houses come. Cleanly though they may be in appearance while acting in the capacity of domestic servants, they are nevertheless born and reared in these habits of life. The facility with which they put on habits of decency when they become cooks and servants simply adds other testimony to their ability to adapt themselves to circumstances when it is in their interest to do so. But the instinct of the race remains unchanged; and when the Chinese servant leaves employment in an American household he joyfully hastens back to his slum and his burrow, to the grateful luxury of his normal surroundings, vice, filth, and an atmosphere of horror."

We omit the detailed account of places visited because of the unspeakable conditions found. It can be seen in the report from which we quote. THAT these statements are absolutely correct and trustworthy, can be readily proven by anyone who has gone through Chinatown, San Francisco. If with their improved financial condition and comparatively high wages earned in this country, they are satisfied to live such a life and practice such habits, what must their actual condition be where they are less favored?

CHINESE MORAL STANDARD.

As to their morality, they have no standard by which a Caucasian might judge them. Quoting from the same report, the conditions were found as follows:

Page 168: "It is a less difficult problem to ascertain the number of Chinese women and children in Chinatown than it is to give with accuracy the male population. First, because they are at present comparatively few in numbers; and, second, because they can nearly always be found in the localities which they inhabit. This investigation has shown, however, that whatever may be the domestic family relations of the Chinese Empire, here the relations of the sexes are chiefly so ordered as to provide for the gratification of the animal proclivities alone, with whatever result may chance to follow in the outcome of procreation."

There are apparently in Chinatown but few families living as such, with legitimate children. In most instances the wives are kept in a state of seclusion, carefully guarded and watched, as though "eternal vigilance" on the part of their husband "is the price of their virtue." Wherever there are families belonging to the better class of the Chinese, the women are guarded and secluded in the most careful manner. Wherever the sex has been found in the pursuance of this investigation under other conditions, with some few exceptions, the rule seems to be that they are here in a state of concubinage merely to minister to the animal passions of the other sex, with such perpetuation of the race as may be a resultant consequence, or else to follow the admitted calling of the prostitute, generally of the lowest possible grade, with all the wretchedness of life and consequence which the name implies. That this is not mere idle assertion, the following statement of the number of women and children found in Chinatown in the course of this investigation, and which includes probably nearly every one living in that locality, will, we trust, sufficiently demonstrate:

Women	57	Living as families.
Children	59	
Women	761	Herded together with apparent indiscriminate parental relations, and no family classification, so far as could be ascertained.
Children	576	
Prostitutes	567	Professional prostitutes and children living together.
Children	87	

This examination has led to the foregoing result in regard to the relation of the sexes. No well-defined family relations have been discovered other than as shown, while the next classification seems to be a middle stratum between family life and prostitution, partaking in some measure of each, if such a condition of things can be possible.

The most revolting feature of all, however, is found in the fact that there are so large a number of children growing up as the associates, and perhaps proteges, of the professional prostitutes. In one house alone, in Sullivan's alley, your committee found the inmates to be nineteen prostitutes and sixteen children. In the localities habited largely by prostitutes, women and children, who apparently occupy this intermediate family relationship already alluded to, live in adjoining apartments and intermingle freely, leading to the conclusion that prostitution is a recognized and not immoral calling with the race, and that it is impossible to tell by a survey of their domestic customs where the family relationship leaves off and prostitution begins.

It is well, perhaps, for your committee at this point to lay before you, and before the public, all that they propose to say in this report upon the subject of Chinese prostitution here, and its effects upon the boys growing up in this community, and then to dismiss this disgusting branch of the subject. Fortunately, after presenting a statement of the number of professional prostitutes, their mode of life, and the district which they inhabit, as shown upon the accompanying map, all the other points are covered by the evidence elicited by the legislative committee appointed to investigate the Chinese immigration question in 1877, from which we quote as follows:

The Rev. Otis Gibson testified before this committee that he had resided in China ten years, and had seen and learned a great deal about Chinese immigration. He said:

"The women as a general thing are slaves. They are bought or stolen in China and brought here. They have a sort of agreement to cover up the slavery business, but it is all a sham. The paper makes the girl say she owes you four hundred dollars or so, passage money and outfit from China, and has nothing to pay. I, being the girl, the man comes up and offers to lend me the money to pay you if I will agree to serve him, to prostitute my body at his pleasure, wherever he shall put me, for four, five or six years. For that promise of mine made on the paper he hands me the four hundred dollars, and I pay the debt I owe you according to contract. It is also put in the contract that if I am sick fifteen days no account shall be taken of that, but if I am sick more than that, I shall make up double. If I am found to be pregnant within a month you shall return the money and take me again."

Alfred Clarke, Esq., chief clerk of the police department, confirmed the testimony of Mr. Gibson as to the manner in which these Chinese women are obtained and brought here. He submitted a paper written in Chinese characters, which, translated, reads as follows:

AN AGREEMENT TO ASSIST THE WOMAN AH HO.

Because, coming from China to San Francisco, she became indebted to her mistress for passage, Ah Ho herself asks Mr. Yee Kwan to advance for her six hundred and thirty dollars, for which Ah Ho distinctly agrees to give her body to Mr. Yee for service of prostitution for a term of four years. There shall be no interest on the money. Ah Ho shall receive no wages. At the expiration of four years Ah Ho shall be her own master. Mr. Yee Kwan shall not hinder or trouble her. If Ah Ho runs away before the time is out, her mistress shall find her and return her, and whatever expense is incurred in finding and returning her Ah Ho shall pay. On this day of agreement, Ah Ho, with her own hands, has received from Mr. Yee Kwan six hundred and thirty dollars. If Ah Ho shall be sick at any time for more than ten days, she shall make up by an extra month of service for every ten days' sickness. Now this agreement has proof; this paper received by Ah Ho is witness.

"TUNG CHEE.

"Twelfth year, ninth month, and fourteenth day." (About the middle of October, 1873.)

And, again, Mr. Clarke produced a second similar paper, which, translated, reads as follows:

AN AGREEMENT TO ASSIST A YOUNG GIRL NAMED LOI YAU.

"Because she became indebted to her mistress for passage, food, etc., and has nothing to pay, she makes her body over to the woman Sep Sam, to serve as a prostitute to make out the sum of five hundred and three dollars. The money shall draw no interest, and Loi Yau shall serve four and one-half years. On this day of agreement Loi Yau receives the sum of five hundred and three dollars in her own hands. When the time is out Loi Yau may be her own master, and no man shall trouble her. If she runs away before the time is out, and any expense is incurred in catching her, then Loi Yau must pay the expense. If she is sick fifteen days or more, she shall make up one month for every fifteen days. If Sep Sam shall go back to China, then Loi Yau shall serve another party until the time is out; if in such service she should be sick one hundred days or more, and cannot be cured, she may return to Sep Sam's place. For a proof of this agreement this paper.

"LOI YAU.

"Dated second, sixth month, of the present year."

For further details, we most respectfully refer to the report of the special committee, page 162 of the Appendix, of the Municipal Report of San Francisco, 1884-5.

But as a proof that these conditions as to the Chinese slave trade still exist, we herewith annex some testimony taken from the report of the grand jury of the city and county of San Francisco, during the first three months of the year 1901.

A MISSION WOMAN'S POSITIVE TESTIMONY.

Miss Margaret Lake, of the Mission, 916 Washington street testified:

"I feel positive that slavery does exist, from the evidence of the girls who have escaped, and from the condition of the houses themselves, the iron-barred windows and doors, and the fact that these keepers not only guard the girls themselves, but pay Chinese women to watch them and white men to watch them, and if we enter these alleys they give the signal we are coming so the girls can be put out of the way, and from the story of the girls themselves, how they have been bought and sold into this trade—it is heart-rending. A little girl told how after her mother's death, she was put up for sale; the Chinese came and examined her as though she was an animal, and at last one paid a deposit down on her of $300, and with the aid of friends she escaped and is now at our house. There are girls actually sold into this life, and they live in it against their will, and beg of the keepers to allow them to go free; they refuse to lead the life, and are cruelly treated and made to lead the life.

"These girls are so intimidated they will not, as a rule, make a move to come to us if the slave dealer is in the room. The minute we put our hands on them they will cry and scream, and after they get into our home they will put their hands on me and say, 'Teacher, I am so sorry to have acted that way, but I know what it means to get back into the slave-keeper's hands.'

"This exists in Chinatown. It is not only among these girls, but also domestic girls sold for family use, who, after they reach the age of fourteen, or thirteen sometimes, are sold into lives of shame.

"We have never had the police come and tell us anything. We have never heard of policemen rescuing the girls and bringing them to the mission, unless we have first asked them to do so. I do not see how the police can help knowing that slavery exists and that children are bought and sold. I have seen children going in and out of those houses. I took a child just before Christmas that had been in those houses for months. I passed along there and saw the child at the window, and Mr. Kane came along, and I said: 'There is a child that I want to take out of there;' and he said: 'Go right now.' And I picked the child up and carried her out. That was on Washington street, where police are patrolling up and down.

"We had one girl who received a letter, and the keeper asked her to come out, and he said: 'If you ever leave the mission and you have wings to fly, we will follow you and kill you.' "

HIGHBINDERS SHOT HUSBAND OF RESCUED SLAVE GIRL.

Testimony of a slave girl:

"At present I live near the rescue home with a relative. I have always lived there, with the exception of a little over a year, when I was kept in a house of ill fame. I was kept there against my will. I am twenty-two years old. A friend of mine got me away from that place.

"—— —— put me in there. He was the one that controlled me first. —— —— controlled me afterward. All my earnings he kept. They prevented me from going out of the house. They kept me there against my will.

"As far as I know, I was born here and went back to China, and was induced to come over here under false pretenses. I was seventeen then. My owners were keepers of houses of prostitution. Because I was not willing to stay where I was I sent word out by an acquaintance, my friend, that I wanted to be rescued, and this friend went to the mission people and they rescued me.

"I know how much was paid for me. It was $2,750. I saw the money paid. —— —— paid that money over to the mistress of —— ——. That was about one year ago and one month prior to my rescue. I did not get any of that money.

"I have been married since my rescue. Ever since my rescue, and ever since they suspected my husband of taking part in my rescue, they have been making threats against him. They have said, 'You are the man that deprived us of our money, and we will have you yet, and perhaps will kill your wife, too.' They tried to kill him, and shot him the other day. The bullet pierced right through him. There were seven girls in the house. Some were only boarding there."

SAW THE MONEY PAID FOR HER BODY.

Testimony of a slave girl:

"I live in the Presbyterian Home. I am fifteen years old. I was born in San Francisco, and have been back to China. I have been in the Rescue Home going on four years. I was in a family house in Chinatown. Another girl and myself were to be made domestic slaves in this city. We were to be taught how to be slaves. My father died when I was very young, and they prevailed upon my mother to sell me because of her poverty. She got between $300 and $400. My mother never spoke about the kind of life into which she was selling me. She is living in Hong Kong.

"When I overheard a conversation indicating that both of us would be sold into a life of shame, I put the other girl up to going to the home first, and when she got to the home she could tell the matron about me. The other girl was —— —— about fourteen. We are both in the home now.

"I saw the money paid for me, and also saw the bill receipted by my mother."

ESCAPED BEFORE BEING SOLD AGAIN.

Testimony of a slave girl:

"I live in the home. I am eighteen years old. I came from China six years ago. I was brought here by a Chinese woman. She bought me and paid for me in China. She paid $350. I was about to be sold here, when —— —— taught me how to get out of the house, and I got away before I was sold again. I was kept as a domestic slave. My mother sold me to the woman. The promise was made to me that I would be treated as a daughter in the family and would be adopted."

Miss Donaldine Cameron, of the mission, 920 Sacramento street, testified:

"My work has been the rescuing of Chinese slave girls and girls held as slaves under prostitution, and I have frequently called upon the police for assistance when going into Chinatown to rescue these girls.

"I have known of children under age being confined in houses of ill fame.

"I know the watchmen do everything in their power to circumvent us and prevent us making these rescues. They always interfere and give the alarm.

"I might be able to produce reliable Chinese testimony concerning the slave traffic. It is very difficult, because the Chinese are threatened if they come out and testify. When we have rescued a girl and the case comes up in court, it is almost impossible for the Chinese to come up and testify. They all give us information in a quiet way but they do not dare to come out. A Chinaman was shot the other day outside the mission for helping me rescue a girl a little over a year ago. He is in the City and County Hospital now. It is really a dangerous experiment to make so far as their safety is concerned, because they have been menaced. They have reason to be very much afraid."

PURSUING A FUGITIVE SLAVE.

"I have a Chinese circular relating to a young girl who escaped and came into the mission several months ago, and she remained with us for a while, and she was very anxious to return to her relatives in China, and we sent her to a friend in China, and the Chinese did not know she had gone; they thought she was in the mission. It was evidently rumored through Chinatown that she was to be married, and this circular was printed, warning whoever was going to marry the girl that unless they paid the sum of $900 to some party, giving the name of the place on Baker alley, this party would not be responsible for the consequences, which was meant as a threat."

The foregoing represents but a minor and by far the most innocent part of the testimony taken before the grand jury but eight months ago, proving beyond controversion that in spite of their residence in the United States, for a half century there has been no improvement in their social or moral conduct.

As for the testimony of several physicians of high standing presented before the special committee of the board of supervisors 1885, as to the gruesome results to thousands of boys, ranging from 8 to 15 years of age, from their intercourse with Chinese females, its publication if permissible, could serve no good purpose, but it is so unspeakably vile, so horribly disgusting in its details, and so utterly degrading, that its publication could only be excused in official reports.

THE OPIUM HABIT.

There are many other phases to this question, some of which are entirely unknown, except to the close observer. The stranger in San Francisco is often struck with a type of humanity never seen elsewhere. Passing through the upper end of Kearney street, in the vicinity of Chinatown, after nightfall one may see a number of what were once men and women, but are now but mental and physical wrecks of humanity. Gaunt and emaciated, with a death-like skin hanging loosely over their frame, eyes deep sunk in their cavities furtively glancing from side to side as if constantly in dread of apprehension, their features distorted, in shabby, scant, and disordered attire, they slink along the strees, like hunted animals. They are seldom seen in open day, always waiting for the protection of the darkness of night. Who and what are these beings, and why are they seen only in San Francisco, one of nature's most favored cities? To the street gamin they are objects of derision and ridicule, to those who are parents of children they are most sad objects of dread and pity. Some time in the past these poor miserable and degraded wrecks were the beloved children of fond parents, who perhaps builded upon their bright prospects, but are now hopelessly lost to them forever. They have become what is known in the parlance of the street as "dope heads," opium fiends in the ordinary language. In some manner, by some wily method they have been induced by the Chinese to use the drug. Time was when little girls no older than 12 years were found in Chinese laundries under the influence of opium. What other crimes were committed in those dark and fetid places when these little innocent victims of the Chinamen's wiles were under the influence of the drug are almost too horrible to imagine. The police have largely broken up these laundry opium joints, but there are hundreds, aye thousands, of our American boys and girls, who have acquired this deathly habit and are doomed, hopelessly doomed, beyond a shadow of redemption. Better death a hundred times, than to have become a victim of this worst of all oriental opium habit.

It may be urged that this is more or less a matter of police regulation, but is it right or just to knowingly expose our children or the children of our neighbors to such dangerous contamination, even though it be not direct? Knowing these conditions, it seems beyond human reason to remain indifferent to an evil so entirely destructive to our domestic ideals.

Are the coolies so absolutely sacred to us that we should willingly sacrifice everything near and dear to us to gain their special favor?

CHINESE TRADE.

Considering that the main objection against Chinese exclusion emanates from the commercial interests of the United States, it may be well to remember that the balance of the trade has thus far been always in favor of China. They buy but very little, their entire trade amounting to but .77 cents per head at present against a trade by mere contrast of about $103.00 per head of our Australian neighbors, more than 131 times greater than the Chinese.

Our exports to China, 1899-900 amounted to $15,213,285.00 against imports of $26,896,926.00 or a balance in their favor of $11,683,641.00.

From 1880 to 1901, both inclusive, or a period of 22 years, our entire trade with China amounted to $578,165,159, of which $429,081,555 were imports, and but $149,083,604 exports, a balance in favor of China of $279,997,951. If we then add the amount of money sent by the Chinese in the United States to China, which may be safely estimated during the same period as not less than $12,000,000 per annum, or $264,000,000 for the 22 years, we have a gross loss to this country during such period of about $544,000,000 in round figures. To those unfamiliar with rules of trade and commerce, this might appear as if the United States had a little the worst of it, but no doubt the commercial interests of the country will explain that this loss is really a profit and that intercourse so beneficent as this should and must be encouraged.

There might be some comfort derived from the duties paid upon the imports from China, but even here, unfortunately, it blows rather cold.

Out of imports amounting to $239,649,912, or for the 12 years from 1889 to 1900, inclusive, $172,503,223 worth of merchandise came in free of duty, while but $67,146,689 was dutiable.

It may be a consolation to know that whatever duty is paid upon Chinese imports, but little is paid upon those directly consumed by Chinese, so as far as they are concerned, they are not large contributors to the revenues of our Government.

But there is not the slightest danger of any trade interruption. Our trade with China has constantly increased, in spite of our restriction policy. A decrease in our Chinese population will reduce the imports of foodstuffs and clothing used by the Chinese (which would be a benefit), but will have no effect whatever on the imports of silk and teas (which is not an unmixed blessing). The Chinese are proverbially acute merchants, and will certainly buy wherever they can buy cheapest, and if they find trading with us a source of profit to them they will continue to do so, irrespective of restriction and exclusion.

But assuming that they would; is the retention of these trade relations so important that we can afford to sacrifice our own flesh and blood on its altar? Are the hundreds of thousands of our citizens to be deprived of employment to make room for this Asiatic coolie, and the standard of living of our entire laboring class to be so reduced as to meet his murderous competition? Is our civilization, our code of morals, socials status to be exposed to their contaminating influence heretofore mentioned, in order to sell a few more barrels of flour, or other cereals? For surely China will never be a large consumer of our manufactures;. for just as soon as demand for them will be manifested they will be manufactured at home, at a less cost than they can be purchased elsewhere.

It is hardly to be credited that any American statesman will be found, who, in the face of these undisputable facts, will be willing to jeopardize the welfare, not merely of our citizens, but of our very institutions for a mess of pottage. So much for our commercial interests.

Though much more can be said on each phase of this important question, we have tried to touch upon them all, sufficiently to enable the readers to get reliable information on a subject not generally understood in the States east of the Rocky Mountains. It must be clear to every thinking man or woman that while there is hardly a single reason for the admission of Chinese, there are hundreds of good and strong reasons for their exclusion.

We ask, nay we expect the undivided support of Americans and those of American sentiment in this great effort to save our nation from a similiar fate than befell the islands of the Pacific, now overrun by Chinese?

We cannot, perhaps, close this document in any more fitting manner than by concluding with the remarks made by one of the greatest statesmen of this country, Hon. James G. Blaine, on the 14th day of February, 1879, when the bill restraining Chinese immigration was before the U. S. Senate. Mr. Blaine said:

"Either the Anglo-Saxon race will possess the Pacific Slope or the Mongolians will possess it. You give them the start today, with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the inducements to come, while we are filling up the other portions of the continent, and it is inevitable, if not demonstrable, that they will occupy that space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific Coast.

"The immigrants that come to us from the British Isles and from all portions of Europe, come here with the idea of the family as much engraven on their minds and hearts, and in customs and habits, as we ourselves have. The Asiatic cannot go on with our population and make a homogenous element.

"I am opposed to the Chinese coming here. I am opposed to making them citizens. I am unalterably opposed to making them voters. There is not a peasant cottage inhabited by a Chinaman. There is not a hearthstone, in the sense we understand it, of an American home, or an English home, or an Irish, or German, or French home. There is not a domestic fireside in that sense; and yet you say it is entirely safe to sit down and permit them to fill up our country, or any part of it.

"Treat them like Christians, say those who favor their immigration; yet I believe the Christian testimony is that the conversion of Chinese on that basis is a fearful failure; and that the demoralization of the white race is much more rapid by reason of the contact, than is the salvation of the Chinese race. You cannot work a man who must have beef and bread, and would prefer beef, alongside of a man who can live on rice. In all such conflicts, and in all such struggles, the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef-and-bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef-and-bread man to the rice standard.

"Slave labor degraded free labor. It took out its respectability, and put an odious cast upon it. It throttled the prosperity of a fine and fair portion of the United States in the South; and this Chinese, which is worse than slave labor, will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the Union on the Pacific Coast.

"We have this day to choose whether we will have for the Pacific Coast the civilization of Christ or the civilization of Confucius."

THE END.

Note.—For further information write to the American Federation of Labor, 423-425 G street northwest, Washington, D. C.

THE FEDERATION ON CHINESE EXCLUSION.

1881

As an evidence that the American Federation of Labor is by no means a latter-day convert to Chinese exclusion, we herewith present the following preamble and resolution, adopted at the convention of the Federation in 1881:

"WHEREAS, The experience of the last thirty years in California and on the Pacific Coast having proved conclusively that the presence of Chinese and their competition with free white labor is one of the greatest evils with which any country can be afflicted; therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we use our best efforts to get rid of this monstrous evil (which threatens, unless checked, to extend to other parts of the Union) by the dissemination of information respecting its true character, and by urging upon our Representatives in the United States Congress the absolute necessity of passing laws entirely prohibiting the immigration of Chinese into the United States."

1900

The position then taken by the American Federation of Labor has been constantly maintained, and at the convention at Louisville, Ky., December, 1900, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"WHEREAS, Recent events have increased the danger threatening the American workers from Mongolian labor; and

"WHEREAS, The Chinese Exclusion Law expires in 1902; and

"WHEREAS, The Pacific Coast and inter-Mountain States are suffering severely from Chinese and Japanese cheap coolie labor; therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That Congress strengthen and re-enact the Chinese Exclusion Law, including in its provisions all Mongolian labor."

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

To the President and Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to call officially issued by the city of San Francisco, there assembled at the city of San Francisco, on the 21st day of November, 1901, for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the State of California, a convention composed of representatives of county supervisors, city councils, trade, commercial, and civic organizations, to the number of more than one thousand, and without dissent, it was resolved to memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States as follows:

WHEN CHINESE FLOCKED IN.

Soon after the negotiation of the Burlingame treaty in 1868, large numbers of Chinese coolies were brought to this country under contract. Their numbers so increased that in 1878 the people of the State made a practically unanimous demand for the restriction of immigration. Our white population suffered in every department of labor and trade, having in numerous instances been driven out of employment by the competition of the Chinese. The progress of the State was arrested, because so long as the field was occupied by Chinese, a new and desirable immigration was impossible. After a bitter struggle, remedial legislation was passed in 1882, and was renewed in 1892, and by treaty with China in 1894, the Chinese exclusion became, with the consent of China, apparently the settled policy of this country. These laws were to run for a period of ten years. Your memorialists, in view of the fact that the present so-called Geary law expires by limitation on May 5 next, and learning that you have been petitioned against its re-enactment, believe that it is necessary for them to repeat and to reaffirm the reasons which, in their judgment, require the re-enactment and the continued enforcement of the law.

EFFECTS OF THE GEARY ACT.

The effects of Chinese exclusion have been most advantageous to the State. The 75,000 Chinese residents of California in 1880 have been reduced, according to the last census, to 45,000; and, whereas, the white settlement of California by Caucasians has been arrested prior to the adoption of these laws, a healthy growth of the State in population has marked the progress of recent years. Every material interest of the State has advanced, and prosperity has been our portion. Were the restriction laws relaxed, we are convinced that our working population would be displaced, and the noble structure of our State, the creation of American ideas and industry, would be imperiled, if not destroyed. The lapse of time has only confirmed your memorialists in their conviction, from their knowledge derived from actually coming in contact with the Chinese, that they are a non-assimilative race, and by every standard of American thought, undesirable as citizens. Although they have been frequently employed and treated with decent consideration ever since the enactment of the exclusion law in 1882, which was the culmination and satisfaction of California's patriotic purpose, they have not in any sense altered their racial characteristics, and have not, socially or otherwise, assimilated with our people.

CHINESE ARE NOT ASSIMILATIVE.

To quote the Imperial Chinese Consul-General of San Francisco: They work more cheaply than whites; they live more cheaply; they send their money out of the country to China; most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States, and they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies, and not after the American fashion."

Until this year, no statute had been passed by the State, forbidding their intermarriage with the whites, and yet, during their long residence but few intermarriages have taken place, and the offspring has been invariably degenerate. It is well established that the issue of the Caucasian and the Mongolian does not possess the virtues of either, but develops the vices of both. So physical assimilation is out of the question.

It is well known that the vast majority of Chinese do not bring their wives with them in their immigration because of their purpose to return to their native land when a competency is earned. Their practical status among us has been that of single men competing at low wages against not only men of our own race, but men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. They pay little taxes—they support no institutions—neither school, church nor theater—they remain steadfastly, after all these years, a permanently foreign element. The purpose, no doubt, for enacting the exclusion laws for periods of ten years is due to the intention of Congress of observing the progress of these people under American institutions, and now it has been clearly demonstrated that they cannot, for the deep and ineradicable reasons of race and mental organization, assimilate with our own people and be molded as are other races into strong and composite American stock.

DETER DESIRABLE IMMIGRATION.

We respectfully represent that their presence excludes a desirable population and that there is no necessity whatever for their immigration. The immigration laws of this country now exclude pauper and contract labor from every land. All Chinese immigration of the coolie class is both pauper and contract labor. It is not a voluntary immigration. The Chinese Six Companies of California deal in Chinese labor as a commodity. Prior to the exclusion, they freely imported coolies, provided for them, farmed out their services and returned them, and if they should die, their bones, pursuant to a superstitious belief, to their native land.

America is the asylum for the oppressed and liberty-loving people of the world, and the implied condition of their admission to this country is their allegiance to its Government and devotion to its institutions. It is hardly necessary to say that the Chinese are not even bona fide settlers, as the Imperial Chinese Consul-General admits.

PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN LABOR.

We respectfully represent that American labor should not be exposed to the destructive competition of aliens who do not, will not, and cannot take up the burdens of American citizenship, whose presence is an economic blight and a patriotic danger. It has been urged that the Chinese are unskilled and that they create wealth in field, mine, and forest, which ultimately redounds to the benefit of the white skilled workingman. The Chinese are skilled, and are capable of almost any skilled employment. They have invaded the cigar, shoe, broom, chemical, clothing, fruit canning, match making, woolen manufacturing industries, and have displaced more than 4,000 white men in these several employments in the city of San Francisco. As common laborers they have throughout California displaced tens of thousands of men. But this country is not concerned, even in a coldly economic sense, with the production of wealth. The United States has now a greater per capita of working energy than any other land. If it is stimulated by a non-assimilative and non-consuming race, there is grave danger of over-production and stagnation. The home market should grow with the population. But the Chinese, living on the most meager food, having no families to support, inured to deprivation, and hoarding their wages for use in their native land, whither they invariably return, cannot in any sense be regarded as consumers. Their earnings do not circulate, nor are they reinvested—contrary to those economic laws which make for the prosperity of nations. For their services they may be said to be paid twice; First by their employer, and then by the community. If we must have protection, is it not far better for us to protect ourselves against the man than against his trade? Our opponents maintain that the admission of the Chinese would cause an enlargement of our national wealth and a great increase of production; but the distribution of wealth, not its production, is to-day our most serious public question. In this age of science and invention, the production of wealth can well be left to take care of itself. It is its equitable distribution that must now be the concern of the country.

EXCLUSION AN AID TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

The increasing recurrence of strikes in modern times must have convinced everyone that their recent settlement is nothing more than a truce. It is not a permanent industrial peace. The new organization of capital and labor that is now necessary to bring about lasting peace and harmony between those engaged in production will require greater sympathy, greater trust and confidence, and a clearer mutual understanding between the employers and the employed. Any such new organization will require a closer union to be formed between them. These requirements can never be fulfilled between the individuals of races so alien to one another as ourselves and the Chinese.

The Chinese are only capable of working under the present unsatisfactory system. All progress, then, to an improved organization of capital and labor would be arrested. We might have greater growth, but never greater development. It was estimated by the Commissioner of Labor that there were a million idle men in the United States in 1886. Certainly the 76,000 Chinese in California at that time stood for 76,000 white men waiting for employment, and the further influx of Chinese in any considerable numbers would precipitate the same condition again, if not indeed, make it chronic. If the United States increases in population at the rate of 12 per cent. per decade, it will have nearly 230,000,000 of people in one hundred years. Our inventive genius and the constant improvements being made in machinery will greatly increase our per capita productive capacity. If it be our only aim to increase our wealth so as to hold our own in the markets of the world, are we not, without the aid of Chinese coolies, capable of doing it, and at the same time preserve the character of our population and insure the perpetuity of our institutions? It is not wealth at any cost that sound public policy requires, but that the country be developed with equal pace and with a desirable population, which stands not only for industry, but for citizenship.

ANSWER TO OPPONENTS OF EXCLUSION.

In their appeal to the cupidity of farmers and orchardists, the opponents of Chinese immigration have stated that the Chinese are only common laborers, and by this kind of argument they have attempted to disarm the skilled labor organizations of the country; but we have shown you that the Chinese are skilled and are capable of becoming skilled. As agriculturists they have crowded out the native population and driven the country boy from the farm to the city, where he meets their skilled competition in many branches of industry, but shall husbandry be abandoned to a servile class? Shall the boys and girls of the fields and of the orchards be deprived of their legitimate work in the harvest? Shall not our farmers be compelled to look to their own households and to their own neighbors for labor? Shall the easy methods of contract employment be fostered? We are warned by history that the free population of Rome was driven by slave labor from the country into the city, where they became a mob and a rabble, ultimately compassing the downfall of the republic. The small farms were destroyed, and under an overseer, large farms were cultivated, which led Pliny to remark that "great estates ruined Italy."

EXPERIENCE WITH SLAVE LABOR.

The experience of the South with slave labor warned us against unlimited Chinese immigration, considered both as a race question and as an economic problem. The Chinese, if permitted freely to enter this country, would create race antagonisms which would ultimately result in great public disturbance. The Caucasians will not tolerate the Mongolian. As, ultimately, all government is based on physical force, the white population of this country would not, without resistance, suffer itself to be destroyed.

If we were to return to the ante-bellum ideas of the South, now happily discarded, the Chinese would satisfy every requirement of a slave or servile class. They work well, they are docile, and they would not be concerned about their political conditions; but such suggestions are repulsive to American civilization. America has dignified work and made it honorable. Manhood gives title to rights, and the Government being ruled by majorities, is largely controlled by the very class which servile labor would supersede, namely, the free and independent workingmen of America. The political power invested in men by this Government shows the absolute necessity of keeping up the standard of population and not permitting it to deteriorate by contact with inferior and non-assimilative races.

OUR CIVILIZATION IS INVOLVED.

But this is not alone a race, labor and political question. It is one which involves our civilization and interests the people of the world. The benefactors, scholars, soldiers, and statesmen—the patriots and martyrs of mankind—have builded our modern fabric firmly upon the foundation of religion, law, science, and art. It has been rescued from barbarism and protected against the incursions of barbarians. Civilization in Europe has been frequently attacked and imperiled by the barbaric hordes of Asia. If the little band of Greeks at Marethon had not beaten back ten times their number of Asiatic invaders it is impossible to estimate the loss to civilization that would have ensued. When we contemplate what modern civilization owes to the two centuries of Athenian life, from which we first learned our lessons of civil and intellectual freedom, we can see how necessary it was to keep the Asiatic from breaking into Europe. Attila and his Asiatic hordes threatened central Europe when the Gauls made their successful stand against them. The wave of Asiatic barbarism rolled back and civilization was again saved. The repulse of the Turks. who are of the Mongolian race, before Vienna, finally made our civilization strong enough to take care of itself, and the danger of extinction by a military invasion from Asia passed away. But a peaceful invasion is more dangerous than a warlike attack. We can meet and defend ourselves against an open foe, but an insidious foe, under our generous laws, would be in possession of the citadel before we were aware. The free immigration of Chinese would be, for all purposes, an invasion by Asiatic barbarians, against whom civilization in Europe has been frequently defended—fortunately for us. It is our inheritance to keep it pure and uncontaminated, as it is our purpose and destiny to broaden and enlarge it. We are trustees for mankind.

WELFARE OF CHINESE NOT OVERLOOKED.

In an age when the brotherhood of man has become more fully recognized, we are not prepared to overlook the welfare of the Chinese himself. We need have nothing on our national conscience, because the Chinese has a great industrial destiny in his own country. Few realize that China is yet a sparsely populated country. Let their merchants, travelers, and students, then, come here as before, to carry back to China the benefits of our improvements and experiments. Let American ideas of progress and enterprise be planted on Chinese soil. Our commerce with China since 1880 has increased more than 50 per cent. Our consular service reports that "The United States is second only to Great Britain in goods sold to the Chinese. The United States buys more goods from China than does any other nation, and her total trade with China, exports and imports, equals that of Great Britain, not including the colonies, and is far ahead of that of any other country.

Commerce is not sentimental and has not been affected by our policy of exclusion. The Chinese Government, knowing the necessity of the situation, being familiar with the fact that almost every country has imposed restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese coolies, does not regard our attitude as an unfriendly act. Indeed, our legislation has been confirmed by treaty. Nor are the Chinese unappreciative of the friendship of the United States recently displayed in saving, possibly, the Empire itself from dismemberment. So, therefore, America is at no disadvantage in its commercial dealings with China on account of the domestic policy of Chinese exclusion.

NATION'S SAFETY NEEDS EXCLUSION.

Therefore, every consideration of public duty, the nation's safety and the people's rights, the preservation of our civilization and the perpetuity of our institutions, impel your memorialists to ask for the reenactment of the exclusion laws, which have for twenty years protected us against the gravest dangers, and which, were they relaxed, would imperil every interest which the American people hold sacred for themselves and their posterity.

The above memorial was adopted by the Chinese exclusion convention at San Francisco, Cal., November 22, 1901.

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THE YELLOW PERIL IN ACTION

A POSSIBLE CHAPTER IN HISTORY

Dedicated to the Men who train and direct
the Men behind the Guns

BY

MARSDEN MANSON

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.
JANUARY 2, 1907

BRITTON & REY. PRINTERS, S. F.

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MARSDEN MANSON.

PREFACE

The indifference with which our people and Congress regard the development of the commerce of the Pacific Ocean prompts the writer to point out some of the possibilities of a war and its effects upon that commerce and our industries. Incidentally other matters are brought in which have a bearing upon these and upon our Naval and Military Power. If this brochure shall serve to bring about a better understanding of our needs and a recognition of their importance, and shall tend to an abandonment of our policy of neglect, its purpose will be served.

Dec. 22nd, 1906

THE YELLOW PERIL IN ACTION

A POSSIBLE CHAPTER OF HISTORY.

Dedicated to the Men Who Train and Direct the Men Behind the Guns.

(Supposed to be written in 1912.)

In 1908 the friction between the United States and China became severe, and only by great forbearance and concessions had the actual breaking out of hostilities been avoided.

This near approach to war, although with a country having no navy comparable with that of the United States, induced the Congress meeting in March, 1909, to make quite liberal appropriations for fortifications at Manila, Pearl Harbor, Guam, Pago Pago and Kisga. On the basis of these appropriations contracts were let for materials, coal and supplies, and the War Department was ordered to go over the plans prepared many years ago for fortifications at these points and bring them up to the most modern requirements.

It appeared that the unprepared conditions of these vital military and commercial points would be at last remedied.

In the winter of 1909-10 China resumed the practice of "boycotting" American goods and materials; and, American sailors and citizens were insulted and hooted in several Asiatic cities. In two or three instances in China, where the lack of raw cotton caused factories to close, severe race riots occurred, followed by the expulsion of all American citizens and the destruction or forfeiture of their properties. This was followed, in seeming retaliation, by outbreaks of a similar nature in San Francisco and a few other Pacific Coast cities and towns. Intense bitterness and racial hatred were developed and in the riots several scores on each side were killed and wounded. These riots were not repressed until United States troops and marines were brought into service.

Counter claims for indemnity for loss of property and lives were presented by both sides, and they were finally referred to a court of Chinese and American jurists, which met at Asheville, North Carolina. The proceedings were characterized by extreme urbanity at first, but the acrimony of counsel on both sides involved the members of the court in very bitter and caustic debate. The President then withdrew the American members of the court to Washington for further instructions—thinking also that a few weeks calm consideration would restore a better state of mind on both sides. The Chinese members sullenly remained in their hotel quarters and the Chinese Ambassador left Asheville and returned to Washington. He then conducted a series of wireless communications in cipher via Vancouver Island station and a Chinese cruiser in midocean, which transmitted these via Sakhalen Island to China.

On the 13th of March, 1910, the Chinese Ambassador directed the Chinese members of the court to return to China on the German mail steamer, Kron Prinz Wilhelm III, and they immediately left for New York and embarked on the 15th.

On the 17th he handed the Secretary of State a declaration of war and demanded his passports, and sailed on the morning of the 19th.

The country was thunderstruck, China had no navy of moment, but her army, under Japanese example and training, had been put in a high state of efficiency, and her two ordnance works had been turning out high class arms and guns for several years. All her naval stations and commercial cities had been fortified in superb style and large stores and munitions of war were said to be on hand.

The United States calmly and confidently began to prepare for war with an Asiatic foe. The general plan had been laid out to simply and effectively blockade Chinese ports and attack her commerce until she came to reason. Great Britain was notified that in accordance with the treaty of 1908 she was expected to close Hongkong and Wei-Hai-Wei to Chinese vessels, both of war and commerce. She gave assurance of her good faith and kept these and other treaty obligations inviolate in the most cordial and friendly manner, but being in no way involved, her attitude was purely that of a friendly and sympathetic neutral.

The Atlantic fleet was ordered to reinforce the Pacific fleet with four first class cruisers, two battle-ships, all five of its recently commissioned scouting cruisers and its entire flotilla of torpedo-boat destroyers—these latter, in accordance with recent developments, being prepared to serve as either torpedo destroyers or torpedo-boats of high efficiency. The most important strategic point in the Pacific Ocean, GUAM, not having been prepared to receive large quantities of naval stores; and the fortifications, docks, and wireless outfit being principally on paper, was not suited for the receipt and protection of such a fleet. Hence the next best station, **Manila,** was selected as the headquarters of the reinforced Pacific fleet. This reinforced Pacific fleet was expected to cruise in Chinese waters, completely blockade her ports and bring her to terms. Colliers were put into service and ordered to increase the coal supply at all stations on the Pacific seaboard, particularly at Pearl Harbor, where immense coal sheds had been built and a splendid drydock and repair shops constructed. Coal ships were also prepared to increase supplies at Manila, Guam and Pago Pago; at Kisga preparations were yet incomplete and a fair supply of coal being on hand, no colliers were sent there.

The United States had accepted the gage of war with China, and our navy was able to meet the requirements of the country, although scattered and but partially provided with aedquately fortified and well equipped military stations. But fortifications and strong garrisons were not needed, as our Asiatic enemy was not prepared to carry on a war which would in any way jeopardize the control of the Pacific Ocean.

Two regiments of the National Guard of California and one of Washington were ordered to prepare for garrison duty at points to be indicated by later orders; and secret instructions were given to the proper officers to outfit two companies from each regiment for duty at Manila, the same at Pearl Harbor and one at Guam, thus reinforcing the small forces at these points. The volunteer naval battalions at all Pacific Coast ports were mustered into service, and preparations made to assign them to the proper vessels.

The actual declaration of war made it more difficult to keep racial antagonism from breaking out in greater violence. These difficulties were intensified by the newspapers, which continued to incite the vicious and ignorant into discontent and violence. The commercial marine of San Francisco and Pacific Coast ports had been admirably advised, anticipating trouble by reason of riots at San Francisco, and by the recent embarkation of wealthy Chinese from American cities, these steamers had been ordered to leave Chinese ports and to take refuge in nearby Japanese and English ports. Learning of the declaration of war, some of those in English ports had crossed to Japan to take on coal or to await orders for other cargoes.

Such were the conditions on the morning of March 23, 1910. On that day, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the Japanese Ambassador at Washington delivered to the Secretary of State a copy of a secret treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between Japan and China, certified with the seals of the two Governments and dated as far back as June, 1906, just after the close of the Japanese-Russian war of 1904-5. He then demanded his passports and left on the German mail steamer, superb quarters being furnished him and his suite, by reason of the declination of these quarters by a New York banker, who had previously engaged them, ostensibly for himself and family.

During the next four days events happened in a bloody and humiliating procession. During the night of March 23d cable communication with Honolulu was cut off, a few leagues east of that harbor; and, as was afterward learned, a rapid and puzzling series of signals from more powerful electric batteries than those on the islands, completely interrupted the efficiency of the wireless station at Honolulu until early dawn on the morning of March 24th, when the top of the signal mast was blown off by a high explosive attached to a kite, and arranged to catch the mast from a distance of a mile or more.

During the same night boat load after boat load of uniforms, arms, ammunition and supplies were unloaded four miles west of Pearl Harbor, and just before dawn on the 24th of March, eight thousand well drilled and well officered troops, thoroughly armed and equipped and previously employed as Chinese and Japanese laborers, stormed the partly constructed fortifications at Pearl Harbor and adjacent to Honolulu.* The garrisons at these points, consisting of two companies of coast artillery, were killed or captured before sunrise, and the heavy guns in place were used against the two cruisers and one battle-ship in the harbor. One of the cruisers was sunk at its anchor, the battle-ship and other cruiser replied, but were crippled, and escaped from the harbor, when they were forced to surrender to an overwhelming fleet, flying the Chinese and Japanese colors. The surprise was so complete that no time was given to blow up the magnificent drydock just completed at Pearl Harbor, with its full equipment of shops and repair machinery. Every American steamer on the Asiatic coast was seized except four, and later three of these, with others en route between ports, fell a prey to small, swift torpedo destroyers cruising around and between the Hawaiian Islands and Kisga, and in constant wireless communication with the fleet at the islands. This loss was enormous, for all lines from San Francisco and Puget Sound had trebled their carrying facilities, and the steamers were large and new except the Siberia. The great line from San Diego lost the fine new steamer **Citrus**, but the **Burbank**, one half day out of port, was caught by wireless and recalled. The **Cooper** was accidentally south of her usual course home and was not intercepted by the hostile fleet, and arrived home on the 26th.

All captured steamers were immediately sent over to China, where troops, arms, ordnance, ammunition, engineers' tools and supplies of all kinds were rapidly loaded and then sent to the Hawaiian Islands. In the interim the fortifications there were rendered almost impregnable.

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*These laborers, it was afterwards learned, had served two years with the colors before emigrating to the islands.

The laborers and soldiers there having been put to work night and day in six-hour shifts, upon plans already prepared to thoroughly fortify not only Pearl Harbor and Honolulu, but every harbor of advantage on the islands. The capture had been so thoroughly and rapidly carried out that supplies and stores of all kinds fell into the hands of the captors, so that by the time of the arrival of the converted troop ships and transports, everything was in readiness. Indeed, trained troops, police and civil officials were already on hand and a provisional Asiatic Government was established within sixty hours after the storming of the fortifications.

The First Naval Battle.

The Admiral's flagship the cruiser Michigan, the cruisers Tennessee and Colorado, and the battle-ship Vermont, of the Pacific fleet, had been ordered to hasten to Honolulu to overhaul, take on coal and stores, and proceed to Manila. They were intercepted on March 26th, with bunkers nearly empty, and fought a running fight against far superior numbers. The foremost of the Asiatic cruisers was sunk and the others heavily damaged, one hardly reaching the Pearl Harbor drydock under forced draught. The Vermont and the Michigan were sunk, and the other vessels forced to surrender to three times their efficiency of higher speed—the Tennessee sunk, however, within thirty minutes after striking her colors. The enemy attempted to use torpedo destroyers as torpedo-boats, but they were torn to pieces by the rapid and accurate fire of the American guns. The efficiency of the new hospital service steamers of Japan was a merciful marvel. They flew in amongst the fighting ships like darts. The small boats attached to each were of lifeboat pattern, and motor driven, with a type of engine using compressed oxygen and oil—an improvement on the old Deisel motor.

In addition to the Red Cross flag each was painted white, with the red cross on each side near the bow and again near the stern.

American steamers en route to Asiatic and Australian ports were nearly all captured by scout cruisers and torpedo destroyers, and were sent as prizes to Chinese ports, none being sent to Japan. Several sailing vessels flying the American flag, were overhauled, but were allowed to proceed either way, not being considered worth a prize crew. Foreign ships loaded with coal, destined for American ports, were sent to Pearl Harbor and detained or the coal paid for.

Similar results followed at Manila to those at Pearl Harbor, where there were only the old battle-ship Iowa, two antiquated cruisers and the same number of old monitors. There was a new and astounding use made of torpedo-boats in this attack. The wealthy Japanese, after the war with Russia, took to steam yachting. Their boats were of their own peculiar pattern and were designed for racing and the sport was indulged in on all occasions. The cylindrical traps for carrying live fish, of which the Japanese are very fond, only needed a pair of doors to convert them into torpedo tubes; and the ventilating and refrigerating machinery on board were air compressors. A few connections converted these yachts into torpedo-boats. These entered the harbor and were repulsed—but the explosion of a light torpedo against the hulls of the American ships inevitably followed. These light torpedoes were very effective and were evidently fired from submarines of some sort, the converted torpedo destroyers having been sacrificed in the ruse. Corregidor Island was seized, ten heavy rifles on disappearing carriages were mounted in pits, which, with quite a complement of heavy rapid fire field guns behind temporary fortifications made this little island a veritable Gibraltar in less than a week.

The Asiatic fleet hovering outside the harbor then withdrew entirely and took up positions near the western entrance to the China Sea, with scout cruisers in pairs, 300 miles west of Singapore and 400 miles southwest of Batavia.

The garrisons on the Philippine Islands were gradually killed or captured by Chinese troops, officered, armed and equipped in a quick and thorough manner and appearing in overwhelming numbers wherever needed.

Fortifications at Guam, Pago Pago, and Kisga being lacking, or only in process of construction, the handful of troops at each point had to surrender. The surrender was immediately followed by one or two troop ships, with the necessary trained garrisons, with plans, tools, equipments, ordnance, munitions, etc., to put these harbors in a fair state of defence. Guam received particular attention. The new works raised there being of the most formidable and permanent types, with additional works in the rear, the heavy guns of which commanded the offings of the harbor, while the rapid fire guns commanded the line in front. A large new floating steel dock was towed into the harbor from Formosa and put in condition to be of service if needed.

The Blockade.

The powerful Asiatic fleet off the Hawaiian Islands on the 24th and the 25th of March was divided into three squadrons, which appeared off San Francisco, Puget Sound and San Diego almost simultaneously on April 2d. The battle-ships Connecticut and Kansas, and armored cruisers Colorado and South Dakota, in San Francisco, were confronted by treble their efficiency outside; and the battleship Louisiana and cruiser Washington, at Bremerton, were confronted by three battle-ships and the necessary complement of auxiliary vessels. A light cruiser and supporting auxiliaries did duty off San Diego. The three squadrons being directed by wireless from Pearl Harbor, where the Commander-in-Chief of the allied Asiatic fleets had established his headquarters.

Thus, early in April, 1910, American commerce was swept from the Pacific Ocean, and San Francisco, Puget Sound and San Diego were as effectually blockaded as was Port Arthur in 1904-5. The reinforcing squadrons en route to the Pacific Ocean, one by Suez and the other by Cape Horn (the Panama canal being only about one-third finished), were necessarily recalled. For, had either squadron continued, it would have been met by an equivalent or a more powerful enemy, with nearby bases, whilst our vessels would have arrived with empty or nearly exhausted bunkers, foul bottoms and no supporting harbor or safe place of rendezvous. Upon recall of these reinforcements the Allied Asiatic fleet in the China Sea took up its station at Guam and made this harbor its headquarters.

The superb base at Pearl Harbor, with a temporary base at Catalina Island—where hospital, repair ships and colliers were assembled—made the squadrons of the Allied Asiatic fleet not only effective on blockade duty, but also effective as an offensive unit, should circumstances demand such action, for the Commander-in-Chief at Pearl Harbor directed all movements and was apprised by wireless of all important facts by the Admirals in command of squadrons. Whilst the commanding harbor at Guam, with Manila as a sub-base, gave an almost overwhelming advantage over a fleet approaching from the Indian Ocean, and commanded the very harbors this fleet was expected to assist in blockading.

There was no attempt whatever on the part of the squadrons of the Allied Asiatic fleet to attack or shell San Francisco, Bremerton and San Diego; they simply maintained a thorough blockade of each port, now and then capturing a belated sailing vessel or blockade runner, risky enough to attempt to escape.

The battle-ships and cruisers in San Francisco Bay and those at Bremerton were in fine shape, but there was no justification in sending them to attack the seven hostile ships on duty off San Francisco and those in Puget Sound—particularly as there was known to be a full complement of armored cruisers, torpedo destroyers and probably submarines in the blockading squadrons.

Doubts as to the presence of submarines were laid at rest in the early part of April, for on the 10th a suspicious floating object was fired on and probably sunk in the harbor by a marine battery on shore duty on Yerba Buena

Island, aided by the rapid fire guns of the cruiser Colorado, at anchor in the harbor.

After this occurrence the positions of the war vessels in the bay were changed every night after dark, and motor launches kept patrol around each vessel during the entire night. Searchlights were shifted to points on shore and the closest watch kept. Just a little before sunrise on the morning of April 17th, after a dark and rainy night, several muffled explosions were heard, and the city was startled by the news that every drydock in the Bay of San Francisco had been mysteriously blown up. Mare Island docks, the two at Hunters' Point, Union and Risdon Iron Works, and even the floating docks at Center Street, were all irreparably damaged, and the magnificent battle-ship Connecticut was sunk in the harbor, though the others escaped. A small fleet of submarines, especially equipped, had been towed nearly into Golden Gate during the previous night in a dense fog. Each had made its way during the night to its appointed duty and within an hour after daylight had done its work. Whether they escaped or not was never known. The violence of the explosion at Mare Island was terrific. Hardly one of the great shops and their costly equipment escaped serious damage. Doors and windows across the strait, in Vallejo, were blown in, but there was a remarkably small loss of life—workmen not having assembled for the day's work. A similar attempt at Bremerton two days later was completely foiled, but both approaches to the dock were fairly strewn with fixed mines, which would require several weeks' work, with special appliances, not then available, to remove. Thus the American navy was deprived of coaling and docking facilities in and around the entire Pacific Ocean, except at Bremerton, and here the dock was rendered dangerous of approach for months, and our commerce was so completely and swiftly swept from the Pacific Ocean that we had not a flag upon its vast waters.

Effect of Destruction of Ocean Traffic on Transcontinental Lines and Internal Affairs.

The obliteration of ocean traffic by the capture of the great steamer lines from San Francisco and Seattle, and the blockading of a magnificent new line from San Diego in that port, coupled with the cessation of the traffic done by nearly an equal number of Asiatic steamers, put a stop to the greater portion of transcontinental rail traffic.

The recently completed Western Pacific Railway had developed its terminals on both oceans, and was engaged in distributing materials for branch lines, and its low grades and superb equipment made it the successful bidder for the transportation both ways of Government supplies and mail. Its old contracts for 1909-10 did not expire until July, 1910, when its new contracts for 1910-11 came into force. Hence this road maintained its old rates and made but slight reductions in its forces. The previous labor troubles were aggravated and intensified by the enforced necessity of laying off the greater portion of all railway employees and of reducing the wages of those remaining. This caused strikes on all lines. The presence of Japanese and Chinese was regarded as an opportunity for revenge, and as their countries were at war with ours, roughs assumed that it was a part of their patriotic duty, as sympathizers with the strikers, to attack these foreign laborers or residents within our borders at every point, or at least to make life unendurable for them; indeed, this seemed to be the sole measure of their patriotic duty to their country, and the surest and best manifestation of their sympathy with, or adherence to, the principles of the labor unions.

The Japanese track gangs on most of the roads were a source of treble danger: First, no one knew what they might be up to, particularly under the aggravations to which they were subjected; second, they were the objects of special animosity by the sympathizers of the strikers; third, it took a large portion of the National Guard to maintain order and guard railway and other property.

Finally, in the early part of April, 1910, upon the refusal of the National Guard to fire upon a gang of roughs who were attacking a small camp of Japanese laborers in Nevada, the Ninth Cavalry was sent to the scene. These troops had to fire upon an indiscriminate mixture of roughs and National Guardsmen, the former having rushed in and seized some of the guns of the guardsmen with which to attack the Japanese and the Ninth Cavalry. This apparently unavoidable trouble resulted in the killing and wounding of nearly 100, among whom were Captain O'Brien and Lieutenant Rafferty, and a score of non-commissioned officers and men of the National Guard, and Lieutenant Gordon and eleven non-commissioned officers and privates of the Ninth Cavalry. The ultimate outcome of this lamentable affair was appalling; the strikers refused to move a single car west of the Mississippi River, and they and their sympathizers commenced the most outrageous series of destructions ever imagined. Tunnel after tunnel, and some important bridges and minor structures were blown up. The great summit tunnel of the Southern Pacific, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, was in course of construction; a carload of powder intended for this work was exploded in the old tunnel; another carload was exploded on the track at "Cape Horn" and the costly steel braced track and masonry at that point were tumbled into American River. The blowing up of the Needles bridge over the Colorado was done with such skill and ingenuity that the Japanese laborers were at once accused of the outrage. As near as the Army officers who investigated the matter could learn, the following scheme was carried out: An innocent looking log and other debris floating down stream with the flood, exploded just at the right time and place and dropped two spans into the river. Small pieces of insulated copper wire were found in the willow brush a quarter of a mile above the bridge, and the robbery of the railroad powder house a few weeks prior confirmed the suspicion that this innocent looking log was loaded and was fired by electricity. Another theory was that some desperate and patriotic Japanese laborer had floated down with the log and sacrificed himself to secure the destruction of a link in the railroads of his country's foes. The eastern portal of the great Cascades tunnel on the Great Northern was blown up, and a similar fate befell two tunnels on the Northern Pacific. It was never found out how the central pier of the bridge over the Colorado at Yuma was destroyed —a muffled explosion was followed by the toppling over of the pier, carrying two spans of the bridge with it. It was supposed that a skillful diver attached an explosive to the lower side of the pier, or under the sand adjacent to it, the firing of which so weakened the pier that it slowly tipped over from the force of the flood. The steel spans were broken and twisted and half buried in the mud and sand. The river being in flood, and rising from melting snow, conditions for repairing these bridges were growing more difficult and could not be expected to be finished until late in the following summer. Smaller structures were also damaged or destroyed at numerous points, thus delaying and complicating traffic. The most disturbing trouble was, however, caused by the blowing off of all the wires from telegraph poles, rendering the transmission of orders for train movements and important national dispatches difficult or impossible.

Each side of the labor controversies charged the other with these outrages, but the actual criminals were rarely apprehended, as suspicion pointed sometimes towards one and sometimes towards the other, with the probability that both were guilty.

In addition to the futile attempt to guard thousands of miles of railway and telegraphic lines, the Secretary of War found it necessary to seize the Western Pacific Railway for the Government, and to hold it exclusively for Government use. It was such an important link between the oceans that the fate of the Nation almost depended upon it. The Directors insisted that some security be given and generously agreed to accept Government 4½% bonds to the amount of the indebtedness of the road and its equipments of $250,000,000.00, with the privilege of making the sale binding at their pleasure, and upon simple notice to the

Secretary of War to that effect. The Secretary of War, realizing the necessity, was forced to accept these terms—which were generous enough, as they covered not only the actual bond issue, but the stocks also; those amounted to fully double the cost.

The alarming nature of the attacks on railroads generally, and the enormous expense of repairs and operation, very soon led the directors of the Western Pacific to take the safe course; they accordingly formally notified the Secretary of War of their conclusion to hold the bonds and let the Government retain the road.

Troops, war materials and naval supplies were rushed across the continent, and after great delays, were received on the Pacific Coast. When at last this destination was reached there was little or no need for the materials, but the troops were everywhere needed to maintain order.

San Francisco was the focus of greatest disorder. Chinatown was the object of general hatred and attack and had to be guarded and patrolled night and day by Federal troops. It took all the skill and training of the army officer and the discipline of the trained soldier to keep the strikers and their sympathizers from setting fire to buildings, cutting water and gas pipes leading into Chinatown, and to protect the commissary wagons hauling rations and supplies to the besieged. But rigid discipline, the shooting of a few caught red-handed and the execution, after court-martial, of a few others, established a wholesome respect for law and order. Similar but minor troubles occurred elsewhere. Those at Fresno were accompanied by considerable loss of life and property. Rioters attacked Chinese and Japanese fruit pickers and set fire to property on ranches employing them or leased to them, and also fired buildings in or near their quarters in town. Sacramento suffered less severely. These disturbances were finally quelled and kept down by United States troops. Indeed, the State was practically under martial law, and the courts and police being inefficient, through technicalities, were simply ignored and suppressed; but it was deemed best that no formal order to this effect should be issued.

The racial hatred engendered by the use of the colored troops of the Ninth Cavalry in the Nevada affair was so deep and bitter that the regiment was entirely withdrawn and stationed for safety in the South Atlantic States, where there was comparative quiet, due partially to their distance from the theater of war. It was alleged and reiterated by the yellow press that the stationing of this regiment at the point of outbreak was a premeditated act on the part of the Government, intended to produce race conflicts in order to strengthen the central power of the Government. This was conclusively shown to be false, and that the Ninth regiment was on its regular tour of assignment of duties at different posts, and was the most available body of reliable troops when the disorder broke out. The clamor was so great that it became necessary to order a court martial of the officers of the regiment. The finding of the court was highly creditable to them, it having been irrefutably proved that they and their command had been subjected to the severest and keenest trial of patriotism and duty which comes to a soldier, and had simply discharged their awful responsibilities. This finding was concurred in by a court consisting of army officers and of the National Guard of the States in which the troops were then stationed. The mass of the American people, and the better classes of our foreign born citizens, recognized the facts and accepted the justness of this verdict; but, the yellow press and its corrupting and inflammatory writers, smarting under the refusal of the court to allow its attorneys to assist the Judge Advocate and his associate from the National Guard of Pennsylvania, continued to distort the truth and misrepresent the facts. This action on their part encouraged and incited the ignorant rough element in their deeds of violence. The previous vicious course of yellow journalism, having culminated in bringing on the most disastrous war the country ever knew—a war practically taking the shape of a civil and foreign war combined—its writers actually continued to clog or destroy the effectiveness of our energies in war by pandering to and exciting the passions of the ignorant and vicious; this, however, tended to draw a clean and well defined line between the workingmen proper and the riotous and "sympathizing" element. The former began to see that their first allegiance was due to their country and its laws, from which duty they had been led away by the example of the trusts and monopolies. Both the capitalist and the laborer were thus paying tenfold for their past work, but the punishment fell, it is true, on the innocent more than the guilty.

The yellow press demanded with the most intemperate denunciations, the impeachment of the Secretary of the Navy, holding that competent official responsible for decades of failure by our people and Congress to recognize the importance of providing fortified stations in and around the Pacific Ocean, and for not making the Pacific fleet the most efficient in that ocean. It even attacked the entire Navy Department—that service which alone can insure us safety and success in a foreign war—for the United States is so situated that excepting internal foes, no foe can reach our borders without controlling the sea. The only justification for these tirades of the yellow press was the past failures of our people and Congress to recognize and act in harmony with the importance of efficient and well fortified military stations in and around the Pacific Ocean and commeasurable with our naval and commercial needs. These journals, with the milk-and-water-sop dished out to us in the past, and until now by the so-called universal peace advocates, had been our worst foes. It is, however, not our task to moralize over the causes of this disastrous war, but to briefly recall the principal events and results.

Effect of Asiatic Mastery of the Pacific Ocean on Our Country.

Conditions in the Eastern States were sad, but the putting forth of hundreds of millions of dollars by the Government for naval and military purposes, and the working of eight-hour shifts in every dock yard or factory producing naval and military supplies, partly ameliorated their conditions. Japan and China ceased, of course, to take our great staple, cotton; but European industries were revived, and bought freely at high prices. Atlantic ports were open and commercial interchange practically undisturbed, except that the paralyzing effects of war decreased the productive capacities of the whole country. The absolute and entire wiping out of American trade and commerce on the Pacific Ocean just as it was assuming enormous proportions, and entering into competition with powerful Asiatic rivals in its development, was a blow inflicted in a few weeks, and requiring centuries to recover. This blow fell on the Pacific States with the greatest severity. These being the theater of internal disorder, isolated the energies, patriotism and power of the States east of the Rocky Mountains, by lawlessness almost reaching rebellion and civil war. Between the line of contact with the enemy and the great energies of the nation, was this embroiled and bitter industrial and racial conflict—paralyzing every effort and humiliating every heart.

These conditions imposed such a terrible hardship on the Government that, coupled with the complete mastery of the Pacific Ocean by the enemy, made a successful prosecution of the war impossible and hopeless. Even if the keys of the Pacific Ocean, **Guam** and the **Hawaiian Islands** only, were in the hands of the enemy, an attack upon his commerce and the blockading of his ports would be well nigh impossible. But, with these keys and all else—Manila, Pago Pago, and Kisga, a temporary base well established on Catalina Island, and his powerful blockading squadrons off our western ports, and operated as a unit from the single station at Pearl Harbor, its splendid dock and its facilities in his possession—a continuation of the war was indeed hopelessly impossible.

The dire strait in which the country was, can best be appreciated by a glance at the accompanying map, showing the three great oceans as units, and our masterly position between them. It is seen at once that Guam is midway on a nearly direct line from Yokohama to Torres Strait, in Northeast Australia; and from its splendid harbor, well fortified, an efficient navy can control on radial lines every entrance to, and every harbor on the southwest half of the Pacific Ocean. Also, that Pearl Harbor, on the Hawaiian Islands, commands on correspondingly radial lines, all Pacific Coast harbors on the east side of that ocean, from Alaska to Acapulco. Two more masterly positions from the standpoint of commercial and naval control, do not exist on the globe. Add to these the sub-stations Pago Pago, Manila and Kisga, and the chain, properly fortified, is impregnable. With the three great continental harbors, San Francisco, Puget Sound and San Diego—these absolutely dominate the Pacific Ocean. These points of control had been secured for us by the clear foresight of those directing our military affairs—but through the supine indifference of our people and Congress, they had been permitted to remain unfortified and unprotected, consequently all, except the three continental harbors had been seized by an alert and far seeing foe, and these continental harbors were, by this stroke, rendered almost as useless as waste sand bars.

Let us now look at the relations of these three harbors to the empire to the east of them. Each is approached by great lines of transportation traversing a continent, and linking them to its millions and the commerce of the Atlantic. These lines were almost completely paralyzed by internal disorders. Could a more humiliating condition be imagined for the greatest of Anglo-Saxon peoples!

The Losses.

The losses in lives had been comparatively slight, excepting the sharp and bloody conflicts of small isolated garrisons and the naval conflicts in and around Honolulu and Manila, no serious conflicts were had. The crews of the vessels previously mentioned had been killed or captured, and these latter were being cared for with even greater medical skill and humanity than the crews of the Russian fleets in 1904-5. The loss of life in the sinking of the Connecticut was small by reason of the splendid discipline on board American war vessels, and the ready assistance available.*

The killed in the race riots, lawlessness and internal outbreaks accompanying strikes were nearly double the losses in naval and military conflicts, and ten times the number of troops were engaged in preventing further outrages and conflicts and in guarding railway and telegraph lines than were needed to man the entire navy.

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*The vessel itself has been raised and will be repaired as soon as the repair of the docks can be completed.—Eds.

The real damage and loss to the country after that inflicted by these causes, was in the entire and irreparable loss of the opportunity—not to control, but even to compete for the control—of the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, with Asiatic rivals.

Negotiations for Peace and Its Price.

Europe stood amazed and almost aghast at the condition of the once powerful and rich United States. Germany was apparently contemplating some stroke, for her entire fleet was concentrated at a few points. It is not known what was contemplated, but the concentration of the British home squadron off Dundee and Hull, and the recall of the most powerful vessels of the great Mediterranean fleet to Portsmouth seemed to have restored confidence and allayed any alarm.

Our own people were simply dumb with humiliation. The overwhelming blackness of the situation confronting them for a time paralyzed their powers of thought. But their Executive went at the dark task before him on the best and most feasible lines. An armistice was asked for. To which our Asiatic conquerors replied that no conflict was going on and none possible, except upon our advance and choice. The terms of peace and the withdrawal of their blockading fleet from our ports were then solicited. These terms were moderate, but extremely galling. Briefly stated the terms were as follows:

ARTICLE I.

Provided for The cession to the Allied Asiatic Powers of Guam, the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, Kisga,, Pago Pago, Catalina Island, and the Farallone Islands (light house privileges on these latter to be retained by the United States in time of peace).

ARTICLE II.

Provided for The payment by the United States of an indemnity of $750,000,000.00. With part of which the United States was permitted to reimburse the owners of the steamers captured during the war, and the owners of Catalina Island.

ARTICLE III.

Provided That a part of this indemnity should be paid to the relatives of each Asiatic subject killed, or to such subject in the case of injury; to person or property which had been incurred by rioting during the war and the year immediately preceding.

ARTICLE IV.

Provided That the Constitution and Laws of the United States should be so amended so as to extend to all aliens equal rights of citizenship.

ARTICLE V.

Provided That the minutiae of these terms and the financial details should be adjusted and fixed by an Imperial High Court composed of Chinese and Japanese jurists, sitting in the hotel on Catalina Island.

The effect of the announcement of these terms can only be likened to the outburst of Mt. Pelee.

The provisions of Article IV set the whole country ablaze—that Asiatic powers should dictate the terms upon which the right of citizenship should rest was too unbearable to consider for an instant. Indignation on the Pacific Coast knew no bounds—the terms were simply heinous—and the entire daily press went into hysterics of denunciation and threatened the most dire consequences unless Article IV be immediately withdrawn. But the chain of floating steel fortresses around our great gates of commerce remained the same and each of its relentless links responded in a single minute to the directing genius of one man, situated 2000 miles away, at Pearl Harbor. Not a single noncombatant within our vast borders had seen the armed legions of our foes, nor his emblazoned sun and dragon flags—yet the most secluded hamlet felt the crush and humiliation of his steel squadrons. No eyes, save those of the thousands of tireless watchers at the guns on the heights saw those black dots on the sea which forbade our flag to fly to its breezes, and our commerce to seek its marts.

The situation was so intensely critical that those legislatures not already in session were immediately called together. Denunciatory resolutions of the most extreme and lurid wordings were introduced in all of them except Massachusetts, South Carolina, Virginia, Texas and Minnesota.

The country seemed to be in the control of the unbridled demons of black despair.

Out of this despairing wail came a few calm words. It was pointed out that all of the islands mentioned in Article I were already in the possession of the enemy, and that an increase in the indemnity might induce him to relinquish Catalina Island and the Farallones, which should never be surrendered.

Article II was favorably commented on by European journals and it was pointed out that the capitalization of the ocean transportation companies whose property had been swept out of existence, and of the hotel company owning Catalina Island, were nearly half the total indemnity.

Article V was harmless except for the indignity of the place selected for the meeting of the Imperial High Court and the outrageous and humiliating terms of Article IV.

These outbursts and manifestations of hatred had no effect whatever on the grim girdle of steel fortresses holding our western sea front, and the very horror of the situation seemed to awe even the rioters into humiliation, so that the guarding of Chinese and Japanese laborers became a less difficult task; and men, real men, stepped forward from the mighty ranks of labor, and, with patriotism blazing in every feature, volunteered by hundreds of thousands to undertake any class of service our country might need, to act as their own guards and to protect life and property.

There was nothing else to do but to accept the profered terms, this nation could not wait in its crippled condition until an adequate fleet could be built in Eastern yards and sent around the Horn, or through Suez to restore our power. What could the allied powers of Asia do in the same time? What would be the nature and strength of a fleet which could steam from Atlantic ports to the eastern ports of Asia and without fortified harbors and coaling stations carry on a war? Could we ask our only friend to help us and risk an attack from European rivals? All these questions, and more, were asked and unanswered save by sighting off our fair shores the flags of a hostile fleet beyond our power to harm, yet infinite in his power to harm us; and these conditions had been brought about by our own disregard of our own laws and opportunities.

The terms were yet before us. The Imperial High Court met for the adjudication of details. It was largely composed of jurists educated in American or European universities, qualified in every way to consider and discuss the questions in the English language. All its assistants, clerks and even stenographers were similarly qualified, and were so organized that any detail was instantly produced or executed as required.

Brevity and businesslike methods characterized the whole proceedings. Each article was taken up seriatim and its exact scope and meaning fixed. The United States practically appeared through its Commissioners as an uncontested plaintiff, and stated its case, which the Imperial High Court took into consideration and promptly brought in its findings. It, however, graciously and with extreme oriental courtesy, permitted the plaintiff to restate his case and reconsidered its previous findings, generally with slight or no modification.

Article I was modified, omitting the surrender of Catalina Island and the Farallones, and adding $10,000,000.00 to the indemnity.*

Twenty millions of dollars were deducted from the indemnity, as being the sum paid by the United States to Spain for the Philippine Islands. This was an auspicious beginning, although all points were to be held by the Asiatic Allies until the final payment of the sums ultimately fixed by the Imperial High Court and the ratification of the terms of the treaty by Congress.

In the consideration of Article II the American Commissioners presented sworn statements of the capitalization of each of the steamer lines, and asked that the United States be permitted to pay this sum, amounting to $391,870,000.00, to the steamer companies.

The Imperial High Court took the matter into consideration and fixed the sum at $42,728,490.00, that being the exact value sworn to by the honorable officers of the honorable steamer companies at the assessment just preceding the breaking out of hostilities and appearing upon the assessment records of their home ports, plus $924,782.00, as the assessed values of the private works destroyed in the harbor of San Francisco by reason of the exigencies of war. Damages for this latter property not having been asked for, suits being in preparation against the United States for a far larger sum. The figures having been obtained and verified by law students from Asia attending the universities in America and verifiable by them as they were now present in the employ of the Imperial High Court. The Imperial High Court heard the American Commissioners, but politely declined to change its evidently just findings. It admitted that these vessels and works could not be built and restored, even in Japan or China, for the sums found by it, but that it could not reject official records of the honorable States of California, Washington and Oregon.

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*This, as was afterwards learned, was spent in a lease for 99 years from Equador of the Galapagos Islands, with the privilege of renewal at the same price for the same terms. These islands command the Isthmian canal and adjacent ports.

Article III was then taken up for adjustment and the American Commissioners suggested $5000 for each Japanese or Chinese killed during the riots, and $1000 for each one injured or maimed, with as accurate lists as could be obtained of these unfortunates and their losses. The sum to be paid them aggregated on this basis $985,000.00.

In fixing the amounts to be paid to the relatives of the killed and to the maimed Japanese and Chinese the High Court had in its possession the exact names, dates and places of every Asiatic covered by the terms of the article under consideration, his death, injury or loss, and fixed the price at the mean amounts determined by the juries of the several States in cases of awards for damages or for loss of life or serious injury. The Imperial High Court expressed its surprise that the awards in the latter cases generally exceeded those for actual loss of life—but verified its conclusions in each case by citations from the Court Reports of the several States in which the outrages had taken place. This data also had been collected by Asiatic law students at various American universities and was verifiable by clerks then present, if so desired.

The sum fixed by the Imperial High Court for this particular and on this revised basis, amounted to $18,496,754.00. One of the Chinese members of the High Court made some reference during this presentation to the Fifteenth and Sixteenth verses of the Twentieth Chapter of Exodus, but the exact relation of the reference to the case could not be ascertained until the American Commissioners got back to Los Angeles and examined the reference.

When the American Commissioners came to present Article IV they grew livid and demanded that it be expunged from the treaty. The Imperial High Court announced that this exceeded their powers and that it must be enforced, as the Allied Asiatic powers had at least established their equality with the nations of Europe and America, and were determined to insist upon the full recognition of this. The Imperial High Court, however, consented to the transmission of its views to the Capitol at Washington, and to await further instructions to the American Commissioners.

These communications were passed in duplicate by separate sets of officials, one by wire and one by wireless, to the Secretary of State at Washington. Both the American Commissioners and the Imperial High Court were astounded at receiving imperative instructions from the Secretary of State to accept the terms of Article IV without reserve.

To the anathemas of denunciation launched at him by the press and Legislatures the Secretary of State coldly called attention to the fact that under the terms of Article

II, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States, Congress had the power to make war or to declare peace, and that this important function of the Government had not been delegated to the Legislatures of the several States, nor even to the press. He intimated that he hoped to make some suggestions to the former for their consideration in the near future.

It is difficult, even at this time, to realize the intensity and fierceness of the denunciations directed at the Secretary of State for his action in this matter. Resolutions demanding that he be impeached and hung for high treason were passed by many States and forwarded to Congress; and his life was attempted twice. Only with the greatest effort could the police and troops protect him, and a member of the police was even suspected of having made one of the attempts on his life.

When final action was had on the treaty this fact was transmitted in duplicate by wireless and wire, as heretofore mentioned, and the Secretary of State, through the President, transmitted the terms to Congress and recommended their acceptance to that body.

On the same date he transmitted a separate recommendation through the President to Congress, and asked that it be considered in joint executive session with the President and Cabinet present.

During this session troops were to guard the entire Capitol grounds and no one was to enter or leave; the United States printing office was to be guarded by double lines of secret police and troops.

Congress sat but for a short time, and on July 3d accepted the terms and ratified the peace, ratifications being exchanged by duplicate dispatches as before. It then went again into executive session and sat continuously through July 4th, 5th and 6th.

The gloom of that Fourth of July is a memory graven deep in the hearts of American patriots. Flags were half-masted. Governors proclaimed it a day of fasting and prayer. Ministers took for their texts passages from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and preached to congregations with set jaws and bowed heads.

By the 6th of July the final and ceremonial exchange of copies of the treaty of peace were made, and the American Commissioners left Catalina Island. Then the grim silence of Washington burst forth, Congress had, in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of State, and without a dissenting vote* amended the Constitution of the United States, **absolutely prohibiting foreign immigra-**

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*Although there were many foreign born Senators and Representatives present.

tion from all countries for ten (10) years; and FOREVER DENYING TO ANY PERSON THE RIGHT OF FRANCHISE UNLESS BORN AND EDUCATED ON AMERICAN SOIL AND BENEATH THE FLAG.

Drafts of amendments to the Constitution and Laws of every State in the Union in harmony with this action had been prepared and printed and were transmitted to the respective Legislatures by telegraph and mail, with the unanimous recommendation of Congress that they be adopted as soon as the requirements of their several constitutions permitted.

The blaze of patriotic glory that burst forth and shone from mountain top to prairie, to mountain top and ocean, brought a delirium of joy to every heart. The purification of the ballot box was assured. Never again would the foul hand of the ignorant or purchased voter touch that sacred signet of the right of franchise of the American citizen—the ballot. The people, scourged and purified by the suffering, grief and humiliation of defeat, were ready to make it, what the forefathers made it—the hallowed exponent of the right to participate in the affairs of the nation.

The War's Lesson.

To rehabilitate the country was an immense task. The first and greatest problem was the transportation problem. The transfer of the products of the farm to the consumer, of those of the mine and field to the factory or mill, and then to the homes of the people. It has been mentioned that in the early part of the war the Western Pacific Railroad was seized by the Government as a war measure, and that the Secretary of War had been required to put the actual cost of the road and its equipment in United States 4½% gold bonds, $250,000.000.00, in the hands of the directors. That, becoming alarmed as to the safety of the road and its equipment, they had formally notified the Secretary of their acceptance of the bonds, thus making the Government the absolute owner of the most recently built and best equipped transcontinental line, with splendid terminals and branch lines. The other transcontinental roads practically forced the late directors of the Western Pacific to ask the United States Supreme Court to issue a mandamus compelling the Government to accept the return of the bonds, and restore the road to their ownership and control. The Court heard the arguments and pronounced the transaction legal and the sale just and valid.

This sale carried with it the existing and unexpired contracts and the then recently awarded contracts for the ensuing fiscal year. Among these were the contracts for carrying the bulk of the great interurban and transcontinental mails and for Government troops, supplies and materials of all sorts. The Government officials therefore found themselves executing contracts for the Government at enormously profitable rates. They learned that in the collection and distribution of mail there was carried out the most expensive and yet profitable part of the mail service, and that these vast profits were swallowed up in the contracts for doing the most inexpensive part of the service; or, that in carrying out both of these parts of the service, as provided in Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution of the United States, there was sufficient profit to build a battle-ship or two every year. This article authorized Congress to build and maintain postoffices and post roads; we had been performing the hard and costly part of this at a profit and farming out the real money making part at ruinous profits to the bond-aided and other railroads. They also found out the exact cost of hauling freight long and short distances, and deducted this cost from the "contract prices" under which they were hauling it, left an astounding profit. When these facts were reported to Congress that body passed a very simple law, requiring the Government road to transport all classes of freight at the same price, which price would pay the four and one-half per cent interest on the bonds paid for the road, the cost of service including maintenance and 3½% for depreciation, and to retire the bonds in forty years. Shippers were privileged to insure freight at its value at very reasonable, but profitable rates to the Government. In the case of loss or damage to uninsured freight the amount of such loss was fixed by a court of competent jurisdiction and paid. This simple and equitable law did away with costly and intricate "classifications" of freight, which were recognized as only methods to secure rebates or extort higher rates. It was actually found out that it cost no more to transport a ton of gold than a ton of pig iron, a box of oranges than a box of potatoes; and, the simple expedient of insuring the goods at their actual value, as is done in many marine transportation companies, made the shipper safe for high class freight. Without going into details, this simply and quickly forced all transportation rates down to this equitable basis. A large percentage of the roads went into "liquidation," but this process seemed to affect the "water" in the stocks and bonds, without impairing the roads, their equipment nor their ability to carry freight and passengers.

Of course there were enormous losses due to the "shrinkage" in values of stocks and bonds, but no actual property was lost. Only certain people who thought that strips of paper representing an "indebtedness that had never been incurred" were wealth, found out the true value of the paper, namely, the value of the actual property which the actual money economically invested in the road or enterprise had produced, plus the reasonable value of the service this form of stored wealth rendered to the community. This shrinkage ranged from two-thirds to five-sixths or even more, of the so-called "face" or par value of the stocks and bonds, as a shrewd Japanese professor remarked, "they had saved a fraction of their face."

There had been a fictitious value added to these stocks and bonds so long as they stood as "evidence of an indebtedness which had never been incurred," and the country permitted charges to be made sufficiently high to maintain this fictitious value. But this transaction no more produced actual wealth than recoining money and stamping treble its value on its face would create new gold; in other words, the mere transformation of the form of wealth created no new wealth.

This difference, between the actual value of the wealth used in the construction and equipment of a railroad, and the service it rendered the country, and the total face and par value of its stocks and bonds, was "the water," which went into "liquidation," and was effectually "squeezed out" by the ownership and operation, on just and equitable principles, of a single line of transcontinental road!

This effectively put a stop to discrimination and rebates. There could be no monopoly of crude nor of manufactured products. Monopoly simply "died of inanition." The enormous, real and permanent stimulus to the productiveness of every industry, and the equitable distribution of profits among the real producers, can hardly be estimated or appreciated. When a man raises oranges in Porterville, Cal., and ships them to New York or Chicago at equitable rates, and actually receives the bulk of the profit between the sale price of the oranges and the cost of raising and packing them, he simply grows wealthy; he cannot be stopped except by sheer laziness or worthlessness on his own part. It is the same with all other products; the most notable instance is the cotton crop. This crop has been found to be so peculiarly suited to the delicate balance of soil conditions, temperature and moisture found in the South Atlantic and Gulf States, that no other part of the world can compete in its production. The home mills can now consume over two-thirds the annual crop and the surplus is contracted for by British factories at fair figures for the coming fifteen years, or until 1929.*

When the actual profits upon the well directed energies of 100 millions of intelligent people ceased to be swallowed up in interest and dividends upon fictitious values, and began to be equitably distributed among those engaged in the various processes of production and transfer, recuperation from the terrible results of the war was rapid.

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*This is causing at the present time terrible poverty and suffering in Japan and China.—Eds.

The most distressing of the many distressing results were and are yet in the great city of New York.

Deprived of the principal sources of income, namely, illegal profits by trading in and cornering these "evidences of indebtedness which had never been incurred," and without sufficient occupation for the great army of clerks, stenographers and other employees of bankers, brokers, etc., her condition was for some time pitiful. But the transfer of these unfortunates to the towns growing up in the great irrigated regions relieved this. Nevertheless, the distress in part continues, for rents and values have continued to shrink, as the population has fallen off nearly three-quarters of a million, and is still decreasing.

Similar conditions prevail in other minor "financial centers," but these, too, are in process of alleviation by the great and new developments in agriculture, which has become so attractive and profitable a science that the most ambitious and energetic people follow it.

Still, in the review of results, it is manifest to the philosopher and the economist, that the price of this war has not been too great. We have lost, it is true, all control of the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, and may never regain it, but we have gained control of that of our own country. We have learned that **there shall be no monopoly in transportation** is the prime, essential law of prosperity.

There is another class who now see this war and its cost and lessons in a truer, better light. This class is the great army of men and women who from childhood learned to sing the words and music of the patriotic songs of our country without learning the meaning. They had learned the words and tunes in the schools of their country, but had not learned the meaning in their homes. In a general way they loved these songs—but they had not learned to feel and love the patriotism that swelled and burst forth from the hearts that wrote them. But this war and its trials and humiliation has burned this true meaning, this true love, into their very souls; and now, when with bursting hearts and tearful eyes they teach them to their children in the home, the true meaning is learned, to be passed on to their children's children.

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Gift of [illegible]

IN THE

Circuit Court of the United States,

FOR THE NINTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT,

In and for the District of California.

IN RE TIBURCIO PARROTT

On Habeas Corpus.

Rights of Chinese.

OPINIONS

OF

Hon. LORENZO SAWYER, Circuit Judge,

AND

Hon. OGDEN HOFFMAN, District Judge.

HALL McALLISTER,
DELOS LAKE, AND
T. I. BERGIN,
For Petitioner.

A. L. HART,
DAVID L. SMOOT,
CRITTENDEN THORNTON,
DAVIS LOUDERBACK AND
ROBERT ASH,
For Respondent.

Circuit Court of the United States,

In and for the Ninth Judicial Circuit, District of California,

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IN RE TIBURCIO PARROTT ON HABEAS CORPUS.

1. TREATY-MAKING POWER. Under section 10, Article I, of the Constitution of the United States, and section 2, Article II, the treaty-making power has been surrendered by the States to the National Government, and vested in the President and Senate of the United States.
2. TREATIES, EFFECT OF. Under Article VI, the Constitution of the United States and laws made in pursuance thereof, and treaties made under its authority, are the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State, both State and National, are bound thereby, anything in the *Constitution or laws* of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.
3. CHINESE TREATY WITHIN TREATY-MAKING POWER. The provisions of Articles V and VI of the treaty with China of June, 18, 1868, recognizing the right of the citizens of China to emigrate to the United States for purposes of curiosity, trade, and permanent residence, and providing that Chinese subjects residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel and residence as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations (16 Stat. 740), are within the treaty-making power conferred by the Constitution upon the President and Senate, and are valid, and constitute a part of the supreme law of the land.
4. CONSTITUTION OF CALIFORNIA—TREATY. Any provision of the Constitution or laws of California in conflict with the treaty with China is void.
5. SECTION 2 OF ARTICLE XIX OF THE CONSTITUTION OF CALIFORNIA, providing that no corporation formed under the laws of the State shall, directly or indirectly, in any capacity, employ any Chinese or Mongolian, and requiring the Legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to enforce the provision, is in conflict with Articles V and VI of said treaty with China, and is void.
6. ACT MAKING IT AN OFFENSE TO EMPLOY CHINESE. The Act of February 13, 1880, to enforce said article of the Constitution making it an offense for any officer, director, agent, etc., of a corporation to employ Chinese, violates the treaty with China, and is void.
7. THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES, which, under the treaty, the Chinese are entitled to enjoy to the same extent as enjoyed by the subjects of the most favored nation, are all those rights which are fundamental, and of right belong to citizens of all free governments; and among them is the right to labor, and to pursue any lawful employment in a lawful manner.
8. LABOR—PROPERTY. Property is everything which has an exchangeable value. Labor is property, and the right to make it available is next in importance to the right to life and liberty.
9. FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL CONSTITUTION. The provisions of Article XIX of the Constitution of California, and said Act of the Legislature passed to enforce it, prohibiting the employment of Chinese, are also in conflict with the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and are void on that ground.
10. SAME. Said provisions are in conflict with that part of the said Fourteenth Amendment which provides that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

11. Same. They are also in conflict with that portion of said amendment which provides that no State shall deprive any person within its jurisdiction of the equal protection af the laws.
12. Chinese or Mongolians residing within the jurisdiction of California are "persons" within the meaning of the term as used in the said Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.
13. Sections 1977 and 1978 of the Revised Statutes of the United States were passed in pursuance of said Fourteenth Amendment, and to give it effect; and said constitutional and statutory provisions of the State of California are in conflict with said provisions of the Revised Statutes.
14. Discriminating Legislation by a State against any class of persons, or against persons of any particular race or nation, in whatever form it may be expressed, deprives such class of persons, or persons of such particular race or nation, of the equal protection of the laws, and is prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment.
15. This Inhibition of the Fourteenth Amendment upon a State applies to all the instrumentalities and agencies employed in the administration of its government; to its executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and to the subordinate legislative bodies of counties and cities.
16. Power over Corporations. Where the State legislation, under its reserved power to alter and repeal charters of corporations, comes in conflict with valid treaty stipulations, and with the Constitution of the United States, it is void.
17. Same. Where the policy of State legislation, under its reserved power to alter or repeal charters of corporations, does not have in view the relations of the corporations to the State as the object to be effected, but seeks to reach the Chinese and exclude them from a large field of labor, the ultimate object being to drive them from the State, in violation of their rights under the Constitution and treaty stipulations—the discriminating legislation being only the means by which the end is to be attained—the end sought is a violation of the Constitution and treaty, and the legislation as such is void.
18. Unlawful Object. Where the object sought is unlawful, it is unlawful to use any means to accomplish the object.
19. Unconstitutional Act. That which cannot be constitutionally done directly, cannot be done indirectly.
20. Section 31, Article IV, of the Constitution of California, which provides that all general laws passed for the formation of private corporations may be altered from time to time, or repealed, does not authorize the Legislature to forbid the employment by corporations of persons of a particular class or nationality.—(Hoffman, D. J.)
21. Consequences of a Persistent Violation of Treaties by a State Discussed, and attention called to the stringent criminal laws passed by Congress to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment.

Before Sawyer, Circuit Judge, and Hoffman, District Judge.

Hall McAllister, Delos Lake, and *T. I. Bergin,* for petitioner.

A. L. Hart, Attorney-General; *David L. Smoot,* State Distric Attorney; *Crittenden Thornton, Davis Louderback, and Robert Ash,* for respondent.

[The judgment of the Court was announced by Sawyer, Circuit Judge, who stated that on a subsequent day he would file his opinion. (For opinion, see p. 19.) Hoffman, District Judge, then delivered the following opinion.]

Hoffman, District Judge: The return in this case shows that the petitioner is imprisoned for an alleged violation of an Act of the Legislature of this State, approved February 13, 1880.

Article XIX, section 2, of the recently adopted Constitution of this State is as follows:

"No corporation now existing, or hereafter formed under the laws of this State, shall, after the adoption of this Constitution, employ, directly or indirectly, in any capacity, any Chinese or Mongolians. The Legislature shall pass such laws as shall be necessary to enforce this provision."

In pursuance of this mandate the Legislature enacted the law under which the petitioner has been arrested. It is as follows:

"An Act to amend the Penal Code by adding two new sections thereto, to be known as Sections 178 and 179, prohibiting the employment of Chinese by corporations.

"*The People of the State of California, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:*

"Section 1. A new section is hereby added to the Penal Code, to be numbered Section 178.

"Sec. 178. Any officer, director, manager, member, stockholder, clerk, agent, servant, attorney, employee, assignee, or contractor of any corporation now existing, or hereafter formed under the laws of this State, who shall employ in any manner or capacity, upon any work or business of such corporation, any Chinese or Mongolian, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and is punishable by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $1,000, or by imprisonment in the county jail of not less than 50 nor more than 500 hundred days, or by both such fine and imprisonment; *provided*, that no director of a corporation shall be deemed guilty under this section who refuses to assent to such employment, and has such dissent recorded in the minutes of the Board of Directors.

"1. Every person who, having been convicted for violating the provisions of this section, commits any subsequent violation thereof after such conviction, is punishable as follows:

"2. For each subsequent conviction such person shall be fined not less than $500 nor more than $5,000, or by imprisonment not less than 200 days nor more than two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"Sec. 2. A new section is hereby added to the Penal Code, to be known as Section 179, to read as follows:

"Sec. 179. Any corporation now existing, or hereafter to be formed under the laws of this State, that shall employ, directly or indirectly, in any capacity, any Chinese or Mongolian, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall, for the first offense, be fined not less than $500 nor more than $5,000, and upon the second conviction, shall, in addition to said penalty, forfeit its charter and franchise and all its corporate rights and privileges, and it shall be the duty of the Attorney-General to take the necessary steps to enforce such forfeiture.

"This Act shall take effect immediately."

It is claimed on behalf of the petitioner that this provision of the Constitution, and the law passed in pursuance of it, are void because in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and the law passed to enforce its provisions known as the Civil Rights law; and also of the treaty between the United States and the Chinese Empire, commonly called the Burlingame Treaty.

The Fourteenth Amendment enacts that "no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The Civil Rights Bill provides that all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same rights in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other. (R. S. 1977.)

Section 2164 provides that no tax or charge shall be imposed or enforced by any State, upon any person immigrating thereto from a foreign country, which is not equally imposed and enforced upon every person immigrating thereto from any other foreign country.

Article V of the Burlingame Treaty recognizes "the mutual advantage of the free immigration and emigration of the citizens and subjects" (of the United States and of the Emperor of China) "respectively, from the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, or trade, or as permanent residents."

Article VI provides that "reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or *residing* in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel, or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation."

It was not disputed by the Attorney-General of California that these provisions of the treaty are within the treaty-making power of the United States, nor that the law under which the petitioner has been arrested, if in violation of those provisions, or those of the Fourteenth Amendment, or of the Civil Rights Bill, is void, anything in the Constitution of the State to the contrary notwithstanding.

But it is urged that the article of the Constitution of this State which permits corporations to be formed under general laws, reserves the right to repeal, alter, or amend those laws at the discretion of the Legislature; that their repeal would at once put an end to the corporate existence of the corporations, and that the right to put an end to their existence involves the right to prescribe the conditions upon which their existence shall be continued; that this right is theoretically and practically without limit, and may be exercised by imposing upon corporations, laws for the conduct of their business, and restrictions upon the use and enjoyment of their property, which would be unconstitutional and void if applied to private persons, and which may have the effect to defeat the object of the association, or to impair or even destroy the beneficial use of its property.

The State may, therefore, in the exercise of this reserved power, prescribe what persons may be employed by corporations organized under its laws, their number, their nationality, perhaps even their creed. It may determine what shall be their age or complexion, their height or their weight, the number of hours they shall work in a day, or the number of days in a week, and the rate of their wages.

These illustrations may seem extravagant, but they were all either recognized by counsel as within the scope of the reserved power, or else they are legitimate examples of the mode in which the reserved power, as claimed, might be exercised. For all such legislation the only remedy of the corporations is to disincorporate and cease to exist.

Such being the reserved power of the State over the creatures of its laws, it is urged that the treaty was not intended, and cannot be construed, to impair that right, any more than it could be deemed to abridge the right to enact laws in the interest of the public health, safety, or morals, usually known as police laws, or to regulate the making of contracts by providing who shall be incompetent to make them, as infants, married women, and the like.

When we consider the vast number of corporations which have been formed under the laws of this State, the claim thus put forth is well fitted to startle and alarm. It amounts in effect to a declaration that the corporations formed under the laws of this State and their stockholders, hold their property, so far as its beneficial use and enjoyment are concerned, at the mercy of the Legislature, and that rights which in the case of private individuals would be inviolable, have for them no existence.

The circumstances which led to the insertion in charters of incorporation of the reservation in question are well known.

The Supreme Court having decided that a charter of a literary institution was a contract, and therefore protected by the provision in the Constitution which forbids the States to make any law impairing the obligation of contracts, the reservation clause was introduced in order to withdraw the contract from the operation of the constitutional inhibition, and to retain to the authority which created the corporation the right to resume the granted powers, or to modify them, as the public interests might require.

It may confidently be affirmed that it was not intended to authorize the exercise of the unrestrained power over the operations of corporations, and the use of their property, contended for at the bar.

The adjudged cases, though they contain no precise definition of the extent and limits of this power applicable to all questions which may arise, are nevertheless full of instruction on the subject.

In *The sinking fund cases* (9 Otto, 720), Mr. Chief Justice Waite, delivering the opinion of the Court, says: "That this power has a limit, no one can doubt. All agree that it cannot be used to take away property already acquired under the operation of the charter, or to deprive the corporation of the fruits actually reduced to possession of contracts lawfully made, but, as was said by this Court, through Mr. Justice Clifford, in *Miller* vs. *The State* (15 Wall. 498), 'it may safely be affirmed that the reserved power may be exercised to almost any extent to carry into effect the original purposes of the grant, or to protect the rights of stockholders and of creditors, and for the proper disposition of its assets;' and again, in *Holyoke Company* vs. *Lyman* (*Id.* 519), 'to protect the rights of the public and of the corporators, or to promote the due administration of the affairs of a corporation.' Mr. Justice Field, also speaking for the Court, was even more explicit when, in *Tomlinson* vs. *Jessup* (*Id.* 459), he said, 'the reservation affects the entire relation between the State and the corporation, and places under legislative control all *rights and privileges*, derived by its charter directly from the State.' And again, as late as *Railroad Company* vs. *Maine* (96 U. S. 510), 'by the reservation the State retained the power to alter it (the charter) in all particulars constituting the grant to the new company formed under it of corporate rights, privileges, and immunities.' Mr. Justice Swayne, in *Shields* vs. *Ohio* (95 U. S. 324), says, by way of limitation, 'The alterations must be reasonable; they must be made in good faith, and be consistent with the object and scope of the Act of incorporation—sheer oppression and wrong cannot be inflicted under the guise of amendment or alteration." In his dissenting opinion in this case, Mr. Justice Field reproduces and explains the language used by him in *Tomlinson* vs. *Jessup*, and *Railroad Company* vs. *Maine*. He says: "The object of a reservation of this kind in Acts of incorporation, is to insure to Government control over corporate franchises rights and privileges which, in its sovereign or legislative capacity, it may call into existence, not to interfere with contracts which the corporation, created by it, may make; such is the purport of our language in *Tomlinson* vs. *Jessup*, where we state the object of the reservation to be 'to prevent a grant of CORPORATE rights and privileges in a form which will preclude legislative interference with their exercise, if the public interest should at any time require such interference;' and 'that the reservation affects the entire relation between the State and the corporation, and places under legislative control all rights, privileges, and immunities *derived by its charter directly from the State*' (5 Wall. 354). The same thing we repeated, with greater distinctness, in *R. R. Company* vs. *Maine*, where we said that 'by the reservation the State retained the power to alter the Act incorporating the company in all particulars *constituting the grant to it of corporate rights, privileges, and immunities;*' and that 'the existence of the corporation and its franchises and immunities, derived directly from the State, were thus kept under its control.' But we added, 'that the rights and interests acquired by the company, *not constituting a part of the contract of incorporation, stand upon a different footing.*' (96 U. S. 499."

(The *italics* are the learned Justice's own.)

In *Commonwealth* vs. *Essex Co.* (13 Gray, Mass. 239), Mr. J. Shaw says: "It seems to us that this power must have some limit, though it is difficult to define it. * * * * * Perhaps from these extreme cases—for extreme cases are allowable to test a legal principle—the rule to be extracted is this: that where, under a power in a charter, rights have been acquired and become vested, no amendment or alteration of the charter can take away the property *or rights* which have become vested under a legitimate exercise of the powers granted" (p. 253).

"This rule," says Mr. J. Strong, "has been recognized ever since." (99 U. S. 742.)

The language of Mr. J. Story in the Dartmouth College case, which, as before remarked, first led to the general insertion of the reservation clause in charters of incorporation, clearly indicates its object.

"When," he observes, "a private corporation is thus created by the charter of the Crown, it is subject to no other control on the part of the Crown than what is expressly or implicitly reserved by the charter itself. Unless a power be reserved for this purpose, the Crown cannot, in virtue of its prerogative, alter or amend the charter, or divest the corporation of any of its franchises, or add to them, or augment or diminish the number of the trustees, or remove any of the members, or change or control the administration of the funds, or compel the corporation to receive a new corporature." (4 Wheat. 675.)

"Probably," Mr. J. Bradley observes, "in view of the somewhat unexpected application of the clause" (forbidding the States to impair the obligation of contracts) "operating as it did to deprive the States of nearly all legislative control over corporations of their own creation, the Courts have given a liberal construction to the power to alter, amend, and repeal a charter, and have sustained some acts of legislation made under such a reservation which are at least questionable." (99 Otto, 748.)

In *Miller* vs. *The State* (15 Wall. 498), the Supreme Court says: "Power to legislate founded upon such a reservation in a charter to a private corporation is certainly not without limit, and it may well be admitted that it cannot be exercised to take away or destroy rights acquired by virtue of such charter, and which by a legitimate use of the powers granted have become vested in the corporation; but it may be safely affirmed that the reserved power may be exercised to almost any extent to carry into effect the original purposes of the grant, or to secure the due administration of its affairs, so as to protect the rights of stockholders and of creditors, and for the proper disposition of the assets. Such a reservation, it is held, will not warrant the Legislature in passing laws to change the control of an institution from one religious sect to another, or to divert the fund of the donors to any new use inconsistent with the intent and purpose of the charter, or to compel subscribers to the stock, whose subscription is conditional, to waive any of the conditions of their contract." (*State* vs. *Adams*, 44 Missouri, 570; *Zabriskie* vs. *R. R. Co.*, 3 C. E. Green, 180; *R. R. Co.* vs. *Veazie*, 38 Maine, 581; *Sage* vs. *Dillard*, 15 B. Monroe, 359.) These citations sufficiently indicate the nature, object, and, to a certain degree, the extent of the powers reserved in the clause in question; and although they do not define their limits in every direction, they lay down certain *ne plus ultra* boundaries which the Legislature may not pass.

Over all the rights, privileges, and immunities conferred by the charter upon the corporation, and which are derived from the charter, the Legislature has control. But, in the language of the Supreme Court, "the rights and interests acquired by the company, and not constituting a part of the contract of corporation, stand upon a different footing." (96 Otto, 499.)

The right to use a corporate name and seal, the right, under that name, to sue and be sued, to acquire property and to contract, are rights which owe their existence to the charter.

But when a contract has been made, or property acquired by a lawful exercise of the granted powers, the contract is as inviolable, and the right of property with everything incidental to that right as sacred, as in the case of natural persons.

It is not merely the title to the property that is protected from legislative confiscation, but that which gives value to all property, the right to its lawful use and enjoyment.

It would be a "mockery, a delusion, and a snare" to say to a corporation: "The title to the property you have lawfully acquired we may not disturb, but we may prescribe such conditions as to its use, as will utterly destroy its beneficial value."

It need hardly be said that no reference is here intended to the power of the State to enact police laws—that is, laws to promote the health, safety, or morals of the public. To such laws corporations are amenable to the same extent as natural persons and no further.

The law in question does not affect to be a police law. Its validity, if applied to natural persons, was not contended for at the bar. The authority to pass it was sought to be derived exclusively from the reserved power over corporations.

It forbids the employment of Chinese. If the power to pass it exists, it might equally well have forbidden the employment of Irish, or Germans, or Americans, or persons of color, or it might have required the employment of any of these classes of persons to the exclusion of the rest.

It might, as avowed at the bar, have prescribed a rate of wages, hours of work, or other conditions destructive of the profitable use of the corporate property.

Such an exercise of legislative power can only be maintained on the ground that stockholders of corporations have no rights which the Legislature is bound to respect.

Behind the artificial or ideal being created by the Statute and called a corporation, are the corporators—natural persons who have conveyed their property to the corporation, or contributed to it their money, and received as evidence of their interest, shares in its capital stock. The corporation, though it holds the title, is the trustee, agent, and representative of the shareholders, who are the real owners. And it seems to me that their right to use and enjoy their property is as secure under constitutional guarantees as are the rights of private persons to the property they may own. That the law in question, substantially and not merely theoretically, violates the constitutional rights of the owners of corporate property, can readily be shown.

Already several corporations representing investments of great magnitude submitting to its commands, have ceased their operations. It is probable that if the law be declared valid, many more will be forced to follow their example.

It applies to all corporations formed under the laws of this State.

If its provisions be enforced, a bank or a railroad company will lose the right to employ a Chinese interpreter to enable it to communicate with Chinese with whom it does business.

A hospital association would be unable to employ a Chinese servant to make known, or to minister to, the wants of a Chinese patient; and even a society for the conversion of the heathen, would not be allowed to employ a Chinese convert to interpret the Gospel to Chinese neophytes.

The language of the Supreme Court in *Shields* vs. *Ohio* (95 U. S. 324) has already been quoted:

"The alterations must be reasonable, they must be made in good faith, and consistent with the object and scope of the Act of incorporation."

"Sheer oppression and wrong cannot be inflicted under the guise of amendment or alteration."

Can it be pretended that this law, of the effect of which I have given these examples, is reasonable as between the State and the corporations, without regard to the treaty rights of Chinese residents.

Can it be said to be in good faith—that is, in the fair and just exercise of the reserved power to regulate corporations for the protection of the stockholders, their creditors, and the general public ?

Is it not rather an attempt, "under the guise of amendment or alteration," to attain quite a different, and as I shall presently show, an unconstitutional object, viz: to drive the Chinese from the State, by preventing them from laboring for their livelihood ? I apprehend that, to these questions, but one candid answer can be given.

I am therefore of opinion that, irrespective of the rights secured to the Chinese by the treaty, the law is void, as not being a "reasonable," *bona fide*, or constitutional exercise of the power to alter and amend the general laws under which corporations in this State have been formed. That it would be equally invalid if the proscribed class had been Irish, Germans, or Americans.

That the corporations have a constitutional right to utilize their property, by employing such laborers as they choose, and on such wages as may be mutually agreed upon.

That they are not compelled to shelter themselves behind the treaty right of the Chinese, to reside here, to labor for their living, and accept employment when offered; but they may stand firmly on their own right to employ laborers of their choosing, and on such terms as may be agreed upon, subject only to such police laws as the State may enact with respect to them, in common with private individuals.

In the foregoing observations I have treated the question discussed as if the reservation had been found in a special charter, by which the corporation was created and its franchises conferred.

I have endeavored to show that such a reservation cannot be construed to authorize the Legislature to impair the obligation of any contract lawfully made by a corporation, or to deprive the corporation of any vested property *or rights of property* lawfully acquired.

But in this State the Constitution forbids the Legislature to *create* private corporations by special act.

They may be "*formed*" (*i. e.*, by private persons), "*under general laws*." All persons who choose to avail themselves of the provisions of these laws may acquire the franchises which they offer.

These *general laws* may be repealed or altered.

What would be the effect upon the existence or rights of corporations already formed, of the repeal or alteration of these laws, it is not necessary here to inquire.

It is sufficient to say that the legislative power cannot be *greater* under such a provision than under a reservation of a power to amend or repeal contained in a charter, by which a corporation is *created* and its franchises conferred.

II. But even, if the reserved power of the State over corporations were as extensive as is claimed, its exercise in the manner attempted in this case would be invalid, because in conflict with the treaty.

"In every such case" (where the Federal Government has acted), "the Act of Congress, or the treaty is supreme, and the laws of the State, *though enacted in the exercise of powers* not *controverted,* must yield to it." (Per Mr. C. J. Marshall, in *Gibbons* vs. *Ogden,* 9 Wheat. 211.)

The principle thus enunciated by the great Chief Justice has never since been disputed. (*Henderson* vs. *Mayor of New York,* 92 U. S. 272; *R. R. Company* vs. *Husen,* 95 U. S. 472.)

The article of the Constitution of this State under which the law under consideration was enacted is as follows:

ARTICLE XIX.

CHINESE.

SECTION 1. "The Legislature shall prescribe all necessary regulations for the protection of the State, and the counties, cities, and towns thereof from the burdens and evils arising from the presence of aliens who are or *may become* vagrants, paupers, mendicants, criminals, or invalids, afflicted with contagious or infectious diseases, and from aliens otherwise dangerous or detrimental to the *well-being or peace* of the State, *and to impose conditions upon which such persons may reside in the State, and to provide the means and mode of their removal from the State* upon failure or refusal to comply with such conditions; *provided*, that nothing contained in this section shall be construed to impair or limit the power of the Legislature to pass such police laws or other regulations as it may deem necessary.

SEC. 2. "No corporation now existing, or hereafter formed under the laws of this State, shall, after the adoption of this Constitution, employ, *directly* or *indirectly*, in any capacity, any Chinese or Mongolians. The Legislature shall pass such laws as may be necessary to enforce this provision.

SEC. 3. "No Chinese shall be employed on any State, county, municipal, or other public work, except in punishment for crime.

SEC. 4. "The presence of foreigners ineligible to become citizens is declared to be dangerous to the well-being of this State, and the Legislature shall discourage their immigration by all the means within its power * * * * ."

The end proposed to be attained by this extraordinary article is clearly, and even ostentatiously avowed.

Its title proclaims that it is directed against the Chinese.

It forbids their employment by any but private individuals, and when through the operation of the laws they shall have become, or be liable to become vagrants, paupers, mendicants, or criminals, the Legislature is directed to provide for their removal from the State, if they fail to comply with such conditions as it may prescribe for their continued residence.

The framers of the article do not seem to have relied upon the efficacy of the provisions imposing such extensive restrictions upon the rights of the proscribed race to labor for their living, to reduce them to the condition of vagrants, paupers, mendicants, or criminals, or persons who "may become" such. The Legislature is directed to impose conditions of residence, and provide for the removal of "*aliens otherwise dangerous or detrimental to the well-being or peace of the State*," and lest any doubt or hesitation should be felt as to the propriety of including wealthy and respectable Chinese in this class, the fourth section declares "the presence of foreigners ineligible to become citizens of the United State" (*i. e.*, the Chinese) to be "dangerous to the well-being of the State." And the Legislature is directed to "discourage their immigration by all the means within its power."

Would it be believed possible, if the fact did not so sternly confront us, that such legislation as this could be directed against a race whose right freely to emigrate to this country, and reside here with all "the privileges, immunities, and exemptions of the most favored nation," has been recognized and guaranteed by a solemn treaty of the United States, which not only engages the honor of the National Government, but is by the very terms of the Constitution the supreme law of the land?

The Legislature has not yet attempted to carry into effect the mandate of the first section by imposing conditions upon which aliens who are or may become vagrants, paupers, mendicants, or criminals, may reside in the State, or by providing for their removal.

Its action thus far has been limited to forbidding the employment of Chinese, directly or indirectly, by any corporation formed under the laws of this State. The validity of this law is the only question presented for determination in the present case.

In considering this question we are at liberty to look not merely to the language of the law, but to its effect and purpose.

"In whatever language a statute may be framed, its purpose may be determined by its natural and reasonable effect; and if it is apparent that the object of this statute, as judged by that criterion, is to compel the owners of vessels to pay a sum of money for every passenger brought by them from a foreign shore and landed at the port of New York, it is as much a tax on passengers if collected from them, or a tax on the vessel or owners for the exercise of the right of landing their passengers in that city, as was the statute held void in the Passenger cases." (*Henderson* vs. *The Mayor*, etc., 92 U. S. R. 268.)

"If, as we have endeavored to show, in the opinion in the preceding cases, we are at liberty to look to the effect of a statute for the test of its constitutionality, the argument need go no further." (*Chy Lung* vs. *Freeman et al.*, 92 U. S. R. 279.)

If the effect and purpose of the law be to accomplish an unconstitutional object, the fact that it is passed in the pretended exercise of the police power, or a power to regulate corporations, will not save it. If a law of the State forbidding the Chinese to labor for a living, or requiring them to obtain a license for doing so, would have been plainly in violation of the Constitution and treaty, the State cannot attain the same end by addressing its prohibition to corporations.

In *Cummings* vs. *The State of Missouri*, Mr. J. Field, speaking for the Court, observes: "Now, as the State, had she attempted the course supposed, would have failed, it must follow that any other mode of producing the same result must equally fail. The provisions of the Federal Constitution intended to secure the liberty of the citizen cannot be evaded by the form in which the power of the State is exerted. If this were not so—if that which cannot be accomplished by means looking directly to the end can be accomplished by indirect means—the inhibition may be evaded at pleasure. No kind of oppression can be named against which the framers of the Constitution intended to guard, which may not be effected." (4 Wall. 320.)

The application of these pregnant words to the case at bar is obvious.

Few will have the hardihood to deny the purpose and effect of the article of the Constitution which has been cited. It is in open and seemingly contemptuous violation of the provisions of the treaty, which give to the Chinese the right to reside here with all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions of the most favored nation.

It is in fact but one and the latest of a series of enactments designed to accomplish the same end.

The attempt to impose a special license tax upon Chinese for the privilege of mining, the attempt to subject them to peculiar and exceptional punishments commonly known as the Queue Ordinance, have been frustrated by the judgments of this Court. The attempt to extort a bond from shipowners as a condition of being permitted to land those whom a Commissioner of Immigration might choose to consider as coming within certain enumerated classes, has received the emphatic and indignant condemnation of the Supreme Court. (*Chy Lung* vs. *Freeman*, 92 U. S. R. 275.)

But the question which now concerns us is: Does the law under consideration impair or destroy the treaty rights of Chinese residents? For it may be a part of a system obviously designed to effect that purpose, and yet not of itself be productive of that result.

Its practical operation and effect must, therefore, be adverted to.

The advantages of combining capital, and restricting individual liability by the formation of corporations, have, from the organization of this State, been recognized by its laws. That method, now universal throughout the civilized world in the prosecution of great enterprises, has in this State received an unprecedented development. Its laws permit the formation of corporations for any purpose for which individuals may lawfully associate, and the corporations already formed cover almost every field of human activity. The number of certificates on file in the Clerk's office of this county alone was stated at the hearing to be 8397. The number in the entire State is of course far greater.

They represent a very large proportion of the capital and industry of the State.

The employment of Chinese, directly or indirectly, in any capacity by any of these corporations is prohibited by the law.

No enumeration would, I think, be attempted of the privileges, immunities, and exemptions of the most favored nation, or even of man in civilized society, which would exclude the right to labor for a living.

It is as inviolable as the right of property, for property is the offspring of labor.

It is as sacred as the right to life, for life is taken if the means whereby we live be taken.

Had the labor of the Irish or Germans been similarly proscribed, the legislation would have encountered a storm of just indignation. The right of persons of those or other nationalities to support themselves by their labor stands on no other or higher ground than of the Chinese. The latter have even the additional advantage afforded by the express and solemn pledge of the nation.

That the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese to this country is a great and growing evil, that it presses with much severity on the laboring classes, and that if allowed to continue in numbers bearing any considerable proportion to that of the teeming population of the Chinese Empire, it will be a menace to our peace and even to our civilization, is an opinion entertained by most thoughtful persons.

The demand, therefore, that the Treaty shall be rescinded or modified is reasonable and legitimate. But while that Treaty exists, the Chinese have the same rights of immigration and residence as are possessed by any other foreigners. Those rights it is the duty of the courts to maintain, and of the Government to enforce.

The declaration that "the Chinese must go, peaceably or forcibly," is an insolent contempt of national obligations and an audacious defiance of national authority. Before it can be carried into effect by force, the authority of the United States must first be not only defied, but resisted and overcome.

The attempt to effect this object by violence will be crushed by the power of the Government.

The attempt to attain the same object indirectly by legislation will be met with equal firmness by the courts; no matter whether it assumes the guise of an exercise of the police power, or of the power to regulate corporations, or of any other power reserved by the State; and no matter whether it takes the form of a constitutional provision, legislative enactment, or municipal ordinance.

I have considered this case at much greater length than the difficulty of the questions involved required.

But I have thought that their great importance, and the temper of the public with regard to them, demanded that no pains should be spared to demonstrate the utter invalidity of this law.

Sawyer, Circuit Judge: The Constitution of California, adopted in 1879, provides that: "No corporation now existing, or hereafter formed, under the laws of this State, shall, after the adoption of this Constitution, employ, directly or indirectly, in any capacity, any Chinese or Mongolian. The Legislature shall pass such laws as may be necessary to enforce this provision." (Article XIX, section 2.)

In obedience to this mandate of the Constitution, the Legislature, on February 13, 1880, passed an Act entitled "An Act to amend the Penal Code by adding two new sections thereto, to be known as sections 178 and 179, prohibiting the employment of Chinese by corporations," the first section of which statute reads as follows:

> "Section 1. A new section is hereby added to the Penal Code, to be numbered section 178.
>
> "Sec. 178. Any officer, director, manager, member, stockholder, clerk, agent, servant, attorney, employee, assignee, or contractor of any corporation now existing, or hereafter formed, under the laws of this State, who shall employ, in any manner or capacity, upon any work or business of such corporation, any Chinese or Mongolian, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and is punishable by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $1,000, or by imprisonment in the county jail of not less than 50 nor more than 500 days, or by both such fine and imprisonment; *provided*, that no director of a corporation shall be deemed guilty, under this section, who refuses to assent to such employment, and has such dissent recorded in the minutes of the Board of Directors.
>
> "1. Every person who, having been convicted for violating the provisions of this section, commits any subsequent violation thereof after such conviction, is punishable as follows:
>
> "2. For each subsequent conviction, such person shall be fined not less than five hundred nor more than five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not less than two hundred and fifty days nor more than two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

The petitioner is President and Director of the Sulphur Bank Quicksilver Mining Company, a corporation organized under the laws of California before the adoption of the present Constitution, but still doing business within the State. Having been arrested and held to answer before the proper

State Court, upon a complaint duly made, setting out in due form the offense of employing in the business of said corporation certain Chinese citizens of the Mongolian race, created by said Act, he sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, which, having been returned, he asks to be discharged, on the ground that said provisions of the Constitution, and Act passed in pursuance thereof, are void, as being adopted and passed in violation of the provisions of the treaty of the United States with the Chinese Empire, commonly called the "Burlingame Treaty," and of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and of the Acts of Congress passed to give effect to said amendment. The question in this case, therefore, is as to the validity of said Constitutional provision and said Act. Article I, section 10, of the Constitution of the United States, provides that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation." Article II, section 2, that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present shall concur;" and Article VI that "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and *all treaties* made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the *supreme* law of the land, and the Judges in *every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.*" There can be no mistaking the significance or effect of these plain, concise, emphatic provisions. The States have surrendered the treaty-making power to the General Government, and vested it in the President and Senate; and when duly exercised by the President and Senate, the treaty resulting is the *supreme law* of the land, to which not only State laws but *State Constitutions* are in express terms subordinated. Soon after the adoption of this Constitution, the Supreme Court of the United States had occasion to consider this provision, making treaties the supreme law of the land, in *Ware* vs. *Hylton*, and Mr. Justice Chase, speaking of its effect, said: "A treaty cannot be the supreme law of the land—that is, of all the United States—if any Act of a State Legislature can stand in its way. If the

Constitution of a State (which is the fundamental law of the State, and paramount to its Legislature) must give way to a treaty and fall before it, can it be questioned whether the less power, an Act of the State Legislature, must not be prostrate? It is the declared will of the people of the United States that every treaty made by the authority of the United States shall be superior to the Constitution and laws of any individual State, and their will alone is to decide. If a law of a State, contrary to a treaty, is not void, but voidable only by repeal, or nullification by a State Legislature, this certain consequence follows: that the will of a small part of the United States may control or defeat the will of the whole." (3 Dall. 236.) Again: "It is the declared duty of the *State Judges* to determine any constitution or laws of any State contrary to that treaty, or *any other* made under the authority of the United States, null and void. *National or Federal Judges are bound by duty and oath to the same conduct.*" (*Ib.* 237.) And again: "It is asked, did the fourth article intend to annul a law of the State, and destroy rights under it? I answer, that the fourth article did intend to destroy all lawful impediments, past and future; and that the law of Virginia, and the payment under it, is a lawful impediment, and would bar a recovery, if not destroyed by this article of the treaty. * * * I have already proved that a treaty can totally annihilate any part of the Constitution of any of the individual States that is contrary to a treaty." (*Ib.* 242–3.)

The case of *Hauenstein* vs. *Lynham*, being an action by citizens and residents of Switzerland, heirs of an alien who died in Virginia, leaving property which had been adjudged to have escheated to the State, to recover the proceeds of said property, was decided at the present term of the United States Supreme Court on writ of error to the Court of Appeals of the State of Virginia. The Courts of Virginia had held that, under the laws of Virginia, the proceeds of the property sought to be recovered belonged to the State; but the judgment was reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States, on the ground that the laws of Virginia were in conflict with a treaty of the United States with the Swiss Confederation. After construing the treaty, the Court says:

"It remains to consider the effect of the treaty thus construed upon the rights of the parties. That the laws of the State, irrespective of the treaty, would put the fund into her coffers, is no objection to the right or the remedy claimed by the plaintiffs in error. The efficacy of the treaty is declared and guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States." The Court cites and comments upon *Ware* vs. *Hylton*, *supra*, and then proceeds: "In *Chirac* vs. *Chirac*, 2 Wheat, 259, it was held by this Court that a treaty with France gave to the citizens of that country the right to purchase and hold land in the United States, and that it removed the incapacity of alienage, and placed the parties in precisely the same situation as if they had been citizens of this country. The State law was hardly adverted to, and seems not to have been considered a factor of any importance in this view of the case. The same doctrine was reaffirmed touching this treaty in *Carneal* vs. *Banks*, 10 Wheat. 189, and with respect to the British treaty of 1794, in *Hughes* vs. *Edwards*, 9 *Ib*. 489. A treaty stipulation may be effectual to protect the land of an alien from forfeiture by *escheat* under the laws of a State. (*Orr* vs. *Hodgson*, 4 Wheat. 453.) Mr. Calhoun, after laying down certain exceptions and qualifications which do not affect this class of cases, says: "Within these limits, all questions which may arise between us and other Powers, be the subject matter what it may, fall within the treaty-making power, and may be adjusted by it." (Treat. on the Constitution and Government of the United States, 204.) If the National Government has not the power to do what is done by such treaties, it cannot be done at all; for the States are expressly forbidden to enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation." (Const., Art. I, sec. 10.) It must always be borne in mind that the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States are as much a part of the law of every State as its own local laws and constitution. This is a fundamental principle in our system of complex national polity. (See also *Shanks* vs. *Dupont*, 3 Pet. 242; *Foster* vs. *Neilson*, 2 *Ib*. 314; *The Cherokee Tobacco*, 11 Wall. 616; Mr. Pinkney's Speech, 3 El. of the U. S. 281; *People ex rel.* vs. *Gerke*, 5 Cal. 381.) We have no doubt that this treaty is within the treaty-making power conferred by the Constitution. And it is our duty to give it full effect." (The Reporter, Vol. IX, p. 268.)

If therefore the constitutional provision, and the statute in question made in pursuance of its mandate, are in conflict with a valid treaty with China, they are void. The treaty between the United States and China of July 28, 1868, contains the following provisions:

> "Article V. The United States and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or *as permanent* residents."
>
> "Article VI. Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions, in respect to travel *or residence,* as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. And reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in respect to travel *or residence,* as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation." (16 Stat. 740.)

Thus the right of the Chinese to change their homes, and to freely emigrate to the United States for the purpose of *permanent residence,* is, in express terms, recognized; and the next article in express terms stipulates that Chinese residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in respect to residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation. The words "privileges and immunities," as used in the Constitution in relation to rights of citizens of the different States, have been fully considered by the Supreme Court of the United States, and generally defined, and there can be no doubt that the definitions given are equally applicable to the same words as used in the treaty with China. In the "Slaughter-house Cases," the Supreme Court approvingly cites and reaffirms from the opinion of Mr. Justice Washington, in *Corfield* vs. *Coryell,* the following passage: "The inquiry is, what are the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States? We feel no hesitation in confining these expressions to those privileges and immunities which are *fundamental;* which belong to the rights of citizens of all free governments, and which have at all times been enjoyed by citizens of the several States which compose this Union, from the time of their becoming free, independent, and sovereign. What these fundamental principles are it would be more tedious than difficult to enumerate. They may all, however, be comprehended under the following general heads: Protection by the Government, with the right to acquire and possess property of every kind, and to pursue and obtain happiness and safety, subject, nevertheless, to such restraints as the Government may prescribe for the general good of the whole." The Court then adds: "The description, when taken to include others not named, but which are of the same general character, *embraces nearly every civil right for the establishment and protection of which organized government is established.*" (16 Wall. 76.) And in *Ward* vs. *Maryland*, the same Court observes: "Beyond doubt these words [privileges and immunities] are words of very comprehensive meaning, but it will be sufficient to say that the clause plainly and unmistakably secures and protects the right of a citizen of one State to pass into any other State of the Union for the purpose of engaging in lawful *commerce, trade,* or *business without molestation; to acquire personal property; to take and hold real estate,*" etc. (12 Wall. 430.) So in the "Slaughter-house Cases," Mr. Justice Field remarks upon these terms: "The privileges and immunities designated are those which of right belong to citizens of all free governments. Clearly among these must be placed *the right to pursue a lawful employment in a lawful manner, without other restraint than such as equally affects all persons.* (16 Wall. 97.) Mr. Justice Bradley, in discussing the question as to what is embraced in the "privileges and immunities" secured to the citizens, among other equally pointed and emphatic declarations, says: "In my judgment, the right of any citizen to follow whatever *lawful employment he chooses to adopt* (submitting himself to all lawful regulations) is one of *his most valuable rights, and one which the Legislature of a State cannot invade,* *whether restrained by its own Constitution or not.* (*Ib.* 113-114.) He also enumerates as among the fundamental rights embraced in the privileges and immunities of a citizen all the absolute rights of individuals classed by Blackstone under the three heads: "The right of personal security; the right of personal liberty; and the right of private property." (*Ib.* 115.) And in relation to these rights, says: "In my view, a law which prohibits a large class of citizens from adopting a lawful employment, or from following a lawful employment previously adopted, *does deprive them of liberty as well as property, without due process of law. Their right of choice is a portion of their liberty; their occupation is their property. Such a law also deprives those citizens of the equal protection of the laws, contrary to the last clause of the section.*" (*Ib.* 122.) And Mr. Justice Swayne supports this view in the following eloquent and emphatic language: "Life is the gift of God, and the right to preserve it is the most sacred of the rights of man. Liberty is freedom from all restraints but such as are justly imposed by law. Beyond that line lies the domain of usurpation and tyranny. Property is everything which has an exchangeable value, and the right of property includes the power to dispose of it according to the will of the owner. *Labor is property, and, as such, merits protection. The right to make it available is next in importance to the rights of life and liberty. It lies, to a large extent, at the foundation of most other forms of property.*" (*Ib.* 127.) Some of these extracts are from the dissenting opinions, but not upon points where there is any disagreement. There is no difference of opinion as to the significance of the terms "privileges and immunities." Indeed, it seems quite impossible that any definition of these terms could be adopted, or even seriously proposed, so narrow as to exclude the right to labor for subsistence. As to by far the greater portion of the Chinese, as well as other foreigners who land upon our shores, their labor is the only exchangeable commodity they possess. To deprive them of the right to labor is to consign them to starvation. The right to labor is, of all others, after the right to live, the fundamental, inalienable right of man, wherever he may be permitted to be, of which he cannot be deprived, either under the guise of law or otherwise, except by usurpation and force. Man ate and died. When God drove him "forth from the Garden of Eden to till the ground, from whence he was taken," and said to him, "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground," He invested him with an inalienable right to labor in order that he might again eat and live. And this absolute, fundamental, and natural right was guaranteed by the National Government to all Chinese who were permitted to come into the United States under the treaty with their Government, "for the purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents," to the same extent as it is enjoyed by citizens of the most favored nation. It is one of the "privileges and immunities" which it was stipulated that they should enjoy in that clause of the treaty which say: "Chinese subjects, visiting or residing in the United States, shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation." And any legislation or constitutional provision of the State of California which limits or restricts that right to labor to any extent, or in any manner not applicable to citizens of other foreign nations visiting or residing in California, is in conflict with this provision of the treaty; and such are the express provisions of the Constitution and statute in question. The same view of the effect of the treaty was taken in *Baker* vs. *Portland*, by Judge Deady, of the District of Oregon, and concurred in by Mr. Justice Field on application for rehearing. (5 Saw. 566-572; 3 Pacific Coast Law Journal, 469.) I should not have deemed it necessary to cite so fully the opinions of others on a proposition so plain to my mind, but for the gravity of the question, and the fact that the people of California and their representatives in the Legislature have incorporated in the Constitution of the State, and in legislation had in pursuance of the constitutional mandate, after full discussion, provisions utterly at variance with the views expressed. Under such circumstances I feel called upon to largely cite the thoroughly-considered and authoritative views of those distinguished jurists upon whom will devolve the duty of ultimately determining the points in controversy.

As to the point whether the provision in question is within the treaty-making power, I have as little doubt as upon the point already discussed. Among all civilized nations, in modern times at least, the treaty-making power has been accustomed to determine the terms and conditions upon which the subjects of the parties to the treaty shall reside in the respective countries, and the treaty-making power is conferred by the Constitution in unlimited terms. Beside, the authorities cited on the first point fully cover and determine this question. If the treaty-making power is authorized to determine what foreigners shall be permitted to come into and reside within the country, and who shall be excluded, it must have the power generally to determine and prescribe upon what terms and conditions, such as are admitted, shall be permitted to remain. If it has authority to stipulate that aliens residing in a State may acquire and hold property, and on their death transmit it to alien heirs who do not reside in the State, against the provisions of the laws of the State, otherwise valid—and so the authorities already cited hold—then it certainly must be competent for the treaty-making power to stipulate that aliens residing in a State in pursuance of the treaty may labor in order that they may live and acquire property that may be so held, enjoyed, and thus transmitted to alien heirs. The former must include the latter—the principal, the incidental power. (See also *Holden* vs. *Joy*, 17 Wall. 242-3; *U. S.* vs. *Whiskey*, 3 Otto, 196-8.)

But the provisions in question are also in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment of the National Constitution, and with the statute passed to give effect to its provisions. The Fourteenth Amendment, among other things, provides that: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Section 1977 of the Revised Statutes, passed to give effect to this amendment, provides that: "All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other."

It will be seen that in the latter clause the words are "any person," and not "any citizen," and prevents any State from depriving "any person" of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or from denying to "any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law." In the particulars covered by these provisions it places the right of every person within the jurisdiction of the State, be he Christian or heathen, civilized or barbarous, Caucasian or Mongolian, upon the same secure footing, and under the same protection as are the rights of citizens themselves under other provisions of the Constitution; and, in consonance with these provisions, the statute enacts that "all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory *to make and enforce contracts,* * * * * *and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens.*" Chinese residing in California, in pursuance of the treaty stipulations, are "persons within the jurisdiction of the State," and "of the United States," and therefore within the protection of these provisions. *And contracts to labor, such as all others make, are contracts which they have a "right to make and enforce," and the laws under which others' rights are protected are the laws to which they are entitled to the "equal benefits," "as is enjoyed by white citizens."*

It would seem that no argument should be required to show that the Chinese do not enjoy the equal benefit of the laws with citizens, or "the equal protection of the laws," where the laws forbid their laboring, or making and enforcing contracts to labor, in a very large field of labor which is open without limit, let, or hindrance to all citizens and all other foreigners, without regard to nation, race, or color. Yet in the face of these plain provisions of the National

Constitution and Statutes, we find both in the Constitution and laws of a great State and member of this Union, just such prohibitory provisions and enactments discriminating against the Chinese. Argument and authority, therefore, seem still to be necessary, and fortunately we are not without either. From the citations already made, and from many more that might be made from Justices Field, Bradley, Swayne, and other judges, it appears that to deprive a man of the right to select and follow any lawful ocupation—that is, to labor, or contract to labor, if he so desires and can find employment—is to deprive him of both liberty and property, within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Act of Congress. Says Mr. Justice Bradley: "For the preservation, exercise, and enjoyment of these rights, the individual citizen, as a necessity, must be left free to adopt such calling, profession, or trade, as may seem to him most conducive to that end. Without this right he cannot be a freeman. This right to choose one's calling is an essential part of that liberty, which it is the object of Government to protect; and a calling, *when chosen, is a man's property and right. Liberty and property are not protected where those rights are arbitrarily assailed.*" (16 Wall. 116.) Whatever may be said as to this clause of the amendment, there can be no doubt as to the effect of the Act. With respect to the last clause, Mr. Justice Bradley says, of a law which interferes with a man's right to choose and follow an occupation: "*Such a law also deprives those citizens of the equal protection of the laws, contrary to the last clause of the section.*" (*Ib.* 122.) And Mr. Justice Swayne: "*The equal protection of the laws places all upon an equal footing of legal equality, and gives the same protection to all for the perservation of life, liberty, and property, and the pursuit of happiness.*" (*Ib.* 127.) In *Ah Kow* vs. *Nunan,* 5 Saw. 562; 3 Pacific Coast Law Journal, 413, Mr. Justice Field observes: "But in our country, hostile and *discriminating legislation by a State* against persons of any class, sect, creed, or nation, in whatever form it may be expressed, *is forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution.* That amendment, in its first section, declares who are citizens of the

United States, and then enacts that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge their privileges and immunities. It further declares that no State shall deprive *any person* (dropping the distinctive term citizen) of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to *any person* the equal protection of the laws. This inhibition upon the State applies to all the instrumentalities and agencies employed in the administration of its government, to its executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and to the subordinate legislative bodies of counties and cities. And the equality of protection thus assured to every one while within the United States, from whatever country he may have come, or of whatever race or color he may be, implies not only that the courts of the country shall be open to him on the same terms as to all others for the security of his person or property, the prevention or redress of wrongs, and the enforcement of contracts, but that no charges or burdens shall be laid upon him which are not equally borne by others; and that in the administration of criminal justice he shall suffer for his offenses no greater or different punishment."

And the same views are expressed with equal emphasis in *In re Ah Fong*, 3 Saw. 157. Discriminating State legislation has often been held void by the Supreme Court, as being in violation of other provisions of the National Constitution, no more specific than the Fourteenth Amendment. (*Welton* vs. *Missouri*, 1 Otto, 277, 282; *Cook* vs. *Pennsylvania*, 7 Otto, 572–3, and numerous cases cited.)

Since the foregoing was written, I have received the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Strauder* vs. *The State of West Virginia*, recently decided, which appears to me to authoritatively dispose of the point now under consideration. The case was an indictment of a colored man for murder, and the statute of West Virginia limited the qualified jurors to white citizens. The statute stating the qualifications of jurors was in the following words: "All white male persons, who are twenty-one years of age, and who are citizens of this State, shall be liable to serve as jurors, except as herein provided"—the exceptions being State officials. This was claimed to be a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, as excluding colored citizens otherwise qualified from jury service; and the Supreme Court so held. The Court, in deciding the case, says the Fourteenth Amendment "ordains that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States; and in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color? The words of the amendment, it is true, are prohibitory; but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity, or right, most valuable to the colored race—the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively, as colored; exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of the enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps toward reducing them to the condition of a subject race. *That the West Virginia Statute respecting juries*—the statute that controlled the selection of the grand and petit jury in the case of the plaintiff in error—*is such a discrimination, ought not to be doubted, nor would it be if the persons excluded by it were white men.*" (10 Alb. Law Jour. 227.) In speaking of the Act to enforce this amendment, the Court further says, sections 1977 and 1978, of the Revised Statutes, before cited, "partially enumerate the rights and immunities intended to be guaranteed by the Constitution;" and that, "this Act puts in the form of a statute what had been substantially ordained by the Constitutional amendment." (*Ib.* 228.) If this exclusion of colored men from sitting upon a jury by *implication* is a violation of the Constitution, as denying the equal protection of the laws to colored persons, *a fortiori* must the express positive provisions of the Constitution and Act of the Legislature of the State of California be in conflict with that instrument, as denying the equal protection of the laws to the Chinese residents of the State. Upon reason and these authorities, then, it seems impossible to doubt that the provisions in question are both in letter and spirit in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States, as well as with the stipulations of the treaty with China. And this constitutional right is wholly independent of any treaty stipulations, and would exist without any treaty whatever, so long as Chinese are permitted to come into and reside within the jurisdiction of the United States. The protection is given by the Constitution itself, and the laws passed to give it effect, irrespective of treaty stipulations.

But it is urged on behalf of the respondent that, under the provisions of Article XII of the State Constitution, providing that "all laws * * concerning corporations * * may be altered from time to time, or repealed," the power of the Legislature over corporations is absolutely unlimited; that it may, by legislation under this reserved power, impose any restrictions or limitations upon the acts and operations of corporations, however unreasonable, stringent, or injurious to their interests; and as a penalty for violating such restrictions, destroy them, and criminally punish their officers, agents, servants, employees, assignees, or contractors; that, as a condition of continued existence, they may be prohibited from employing Chinese, and the prohibition enforced against the corporation and the persons named by means of the penalties indicated; and thus, by means of the State's control over the corporation created by its authority, it can indirectly accomplish the purpose of excluding the Chinese from, perhaps, their largest and most important field of labor —a purpose *which could not be accomplished by direct means.* This position the Attorney-General and the other counsel for the respondent, most earnestly press, and upon it they most confidently rely.

I do not assent to any such unlimited power over corporations. There must be—there is—a limit somewhere. That there is such a limit is recognized and expressly asserted in numerous cases by the Supreme Court of the United States, and by the highest courts of many of the States; and I know of none to the contrary. But precisely where the line is to be drawn, I confess, in the present state of the authoritative adjudications, I am unable to say. I am inclined to the opinion, however, that it would exclude legislation of the character in question, even if it concerned the State and the corporations alone, and did not conflict with other rights protected by treaties with foreign nations, or by the Constitution of the United States—the supreme law of the land. But assume it to be otherwise. When the State legislation affecting its corporations comes in conflict with the stipulations of valid treaties, and with the National Constitution, and laws made in pursuance thereof, it must yield to their superior authority. And such, in my judgment, are the provisions in question. The policy of the constitutional provision and statute in question does not have in view the relations of the corporation to the State, as the object to be effected or accomplished; but it seeks to reach the Chinese, and exclude them from a wide range of labor and employment, the ultimate end to be accomplished being to drive those already here from the State, and prevent others from coming hither—*the discriminating legislation being only the means by which the end is to be attained—the ultimate purpose to be accomplished. The end sought to be attained is unlawful.* It is in direct violation of our treaty stipulations and the Constitution of the United States. The end being unlawful and repugnant to the supreme law of the land, it is equally unlawful, and equally in violation of the Constitution and treaty stipulations, to use any means, however proper, or within the power of the State for lawful purposes, for the attainment of that unlawful end, or accomplishment of that unlawful purpose. It cannot be otherwise than unlawful to use any means whatever to accomplish an unlawful purpose. This proposition would seem to be too plain to require argument or authority. Yet there is an abundance of authority on the point, although perhaps not stated in this particular form. (*Brown* vs. *Maryland*, 12 Wheat. 419; *Ward* vs. *Maryland*, 12 Wall. 431; *Woodruff* vs. *Parham*, 8 Wall. 130, 140; *Hinson* vs. *Lott*, *Id.* 152; *Welton* vs. *Missouri*, 1 Otto, 279, 282; *Cook* vs. *Pennsylvania*, 7 Otto, 573.) These cases hold that the power of taxation, and power to require licenses, are legitimate powers to be exercised without discrimination; but they are unlawful and unconstitutional when used to discriminate against foreign goods or manufacturers of other States. That is to say, they are constitutional and lawful when used for a constitutional and lawful purpose, but unlawful and in violation of the Constitution when used to attain an unlawful or unconstitutional end. And whatever form the law may take on, or in whatever language be couched, the Court will strip off its disguise, and judge of the purpose from the manifest intent as indicated by the effect. In *Cummings* vs. *Missouri*, Mr. Justice Field, in speaking for the Court, says: "The difference between the last case supposed, and the case as actually presented, is one of form only, and not substance. * * * The deprivation is effected with equal certainty in the one case as it would be in the other, but not with equal directness. The purpose of the law-maker, in the case supposed, would be openly avowed; in the case existing, it is only disguised. The legal result must be the same; for what cannot be done directly cannot be done indirectly. The Constitution deals with substance, not shadows. Its inhibition was leveled at the thing, not the name. It intended that the rights of the citizen should be secure against deprivation for past conduct by legislative enactment under any form, however disguised. If the inhibition can be evaded by the form of the enactment, its insertion in the fundamental law was a vain and futile proceeding." (4 Wall. 325. See also *Henderson* vs. *Mayor of New York*, 2 Otto, 268; *Chy Lung* vs. *Freeman*, *Ib.* 279; *Railroad Co.* vs. *Husen*, 5 Otto, 472.)

In *Doyle* vs. *Continental Insurance Co.*, 4 Otto, 535, most confidently relied on by the respondent, the end to be accomplished—the exclusion of a foreign corporation from doing business in the State except upon conditions prescribed by the State—was lawful, and the means adopted lawful. There were no rights secured by treaty or the National Constitution violated. The State and the foreign corporation were the only parties, and their rights the only rights affected. Had the Legislature, instead of prohibiting the corporation from doing business in the State as a penalty for violation of the conditions prescribed, attempted to enforce compliance by *criminally punishing the agent* who transferred the action brought against the corporation from the State to the National Court, the question would certainly have been different, and the statute making the transfer a misdemeanor would have been void; for under the Constitution of the United States the foreign corporation had a right to transfer the case, of which the State could not by law, nor the corporation by stipulation, deprive it, as was held in *Insurance Company* vs. *Morse*, 20 Wall. 445. It being lawful to transfer, and the right to transfer being secured by the National Constitution, it was incompetent for the Legislature to make the transfer an offense, and punish it as such, in violation of the supreme law of the land. The act could not at the same time be both lawful and criminal. And this is the plain distinction between the case relied on and the one now under consideration.

The object, and the only object, to be accomplished by the State constitutional and statutory provisions in question is manifestly to restrict the right of the Chinese residents to labor, and thereby deprive them of the means of living, in order to drive those now here from the State, and prevent others from coming hither; and this abridges their privileges and immunities, and deprives them of the equal protection of the laws, in direct violation of the treaty and Constitution—the supreme law of the land. To perceive that the means employed are admirably adapted to the end proposed, it is only necessary to consider for a moment some of the leading provisions of Article XIX of the State Constitution. Section 1 provides that: "The Legislature shall prescribe all necessary regulations for the protection of the State * * * from the burdens and evils arising from the presence of aliens who are or *may become* vagrants, paupers, mendicants, criminals, etc., * * * and to impose conditions upon which such persons may reside in the State, and to provide the means and mode of their removal from the State upon failure or refusal to comply with such conditions."

Section 2 is the one which prohibits any corporation from employing, directly or indirectly, in any capacity, any Chinese or Mongolians; and section 3 provides that: "No Chinese shall be employed on any State, municipal, or other work, except in punishment for crime." After providing for the removal from the State of all who "*may become* vagrants, paupers, etc.," it is difficult to conceive of any more effectual means, so far as they go, to reduce the Chinese to "vagrants, paupers, mendicants, and criminals," in order that they may be removed, than to forbid their employment, "directly or indirectly, in any capacity"—that is to say, to exclude them from engaging in useful labor. If it is competent for the State to enforce these provisions, it may also prohibit corporations from dealing with them in any capacity whatever—from purchasing from or selling to them any of the necessaries of life, or any articles of trade and commerce.

In view of the vast extent of the field of labor and business now engrossed by corporations, to exclude the Chinese from all dealings with corporations is to reduce their means of avoiding vagrancy, pauperism, and mendicity to very narrow limits; and from the present temper of our people, and the number of bills now pending before the Legislature tending to that end, there can be no doubt that if the legislation now in question can be sustained, the means of avoiding the condition of pauperism denounced in the State Constitution and laws would soon be reduced to the *minimum*.

In the language of Deady, J., in *Baker* vs. *Portland*, "Admit the wedge of State interference ever so little, and there is nothing to prevent its being driven home and overriding the treaty-making power altogether." (5 Saw. 750; 3 Pac. Coast Law Journal, 469.)

Vagrancy and pauperism, one would suppose, ought to be discouraged rather than induced by solemn constitutional mandates requiring legislation necessarily leading to such vices. Common experience, I think, would lead to the conclusion that the Chinese within the State, with equal opportunities, are as little likely to fall into vagrancy, pauperism, and mendicity, and thereby become a public charge, as any other class, native or foreign born. Industry and economy, by which the Chinese are able to labor cheaply and still accumulate large amounts of money to send out of the country—the objection perhaps most frequently and strenuously urged against their presence—are not the legitimate parents of "vagrancy, pauperism, mendicity, and crime." There are other objections to an unlimited immigration of that people, founded on distinctions of race and differences in the character of their civilization, religion, and other habits, to my mind of a far more weighty character. But these, unfortunately for those seeking to evade treaty stipulations and constitutional guarantees, can by no plausible misnomer be ranged under the police powers of the State.

Holding, as we do, that the constitutional and statutory provisions in question are void, for reasons already stated, we deem it proper again to call public attention to the fact, however unpleasant it may be to the very great majority of the citizens of California, that however undesirable, or even ultimately dangerous to our civilization, an unlimited immigration of Chinese may be, the remedy is not with the State, but with the General Government. The Chinese have a perfect right, under the stipulations of the treaty, to reside in the State, and enjoy all privileges, immunities, and exemptions that may there be enjoyed by the citizens and subjects of any other nation; and under the Fourteenth Amendment to the National Constitution, the right to enjoy "life, liberty, and property," and "the equal protection of the laws," in the same degree and to the same extent as these rights are enjoyed by our own citizens; and in the language of Mr. Justice Bradley, in the Slaughter-house Cases, "*the whole power of the nation is pledged to sustain those rights.*" To persist, on the part of the State, in legislation in direct violation of these treaty stipulations, and of the Constitution of the United States, and in endeavoring to enforce such void legislation, is to waste efforts in a barren field, which, if expended in the proper direction, might produce valuable fruit; and besides, it is little short of incipient rebellion.

In 1870 the Chinese at Tien-tsin, actuated by similar unfriendly feelings and repugnance toward foreigners of the Caucasian race, made a riotous attack upon the missionaries stationed at that place, killed some French and Russian citizens, and destroyed the buildings and property of French, Russian, and American residents. These Powers promptly and energetically demanded satisfaction from the Chinese Empire under their various treaties. The result was that fifteen Chinese were convicted and executed, and twenty others banished. The two magistrates having jurisdiction as heads of the city government were also banished, for not taking effectual means to suppress the riot and protect the foreigners. The buildings of the American citizens were re-erected, and the property destroyed paid for, to the satisfaction of the parties suffering, and at the expense of the city. (Papers on Foreign Relations for 1871.) Thus, under the same treaty which guarantees the rights of Chinese subjects to reside and pursue all lawful occupations in California, the United States were prompt to demand satisfaction for injuries resulting to our citizens from infractions of the treaty by citizens of China. And the Chinese Government promptly punished the guilty parties, and made ample satisfaction for the pecuniary losses sustained. It ought to be understood by the people of California, if it is not now, that the same measure of justice and satisfaction which our Government demands and receives from the Chinese Emperor for injuries to our citizens resulting from infractions of the treaty, must be meted out to the Chinese residents of California who sustain injuries resulting from infractions of the same treaty by our own citizens, or by other foreign subjects residing within our jurisdiction, and enjoying the protection of similar treaties and of our laws. And it should not be forgotten that in case of destruction of, or damage to Chinese property by riotous or other unlawful proceedings, the city of San Francisco, like the more populous city of Tien-tsin, may be called upon to make good the loss.

In view of recent events transpiring in the city of San Francisco, in anticipation of the passage of the statute now in question, which have become a part of the public history of the times, I deem it not inappropriate in this connection to call attention to the fact, of which many are probably unaware, that the Statutes of the United States are not without provisions, both of a civil and criminal nature, framed and designed expressly to give effect to, and enforce that provision of, the Fourteenth Amendment to the National Constitution, which guarantees to every "person"—which term, as we have seen, includes Chinese—"within the jurisdiction" of California, "the equal protection of the laws." Section 1979 of the Revised Statutes provides a civil remedy for infractions of this amendment. It is as follows: "Every person who, under the color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage of any State or Territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States, or other person within the jurisdiction thereof, to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities, secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured, in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress."

Thus a remedy by action is given to any "person," against any other person who deprives him of "any right, privilege, or immunity," secured to him by the Constitution, even if it is done "under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage of the State." Possibly the prisoner might have been liable had he, in pursuance of the mandate of the statute in question, *and on that ground* discharged the Chinamen for whose employment he is now under arrest. But it is unnecessary to so determine now. At all events, he stood between two statutes, and he was bound to yield obedience to that which is superior.

Section 5510 makes a similar deprivation of rights under color of any statute, etc., a criminal offense, punishable by fine and imprisonment. And section 5519 provides that "if two or more persons in any State * * * conspire * * * for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of persons, of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges and immunities under the law, * * * each of such persons shall be punished by a fine of not less than five hundred dollars nor more than five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment, with or without hard labor, not less than six months nor more than six years, or by both such fine and imprisonment." These provisions of the United States Statutes—the supreme law of the land—are commended to the consideration of all persons who are disposed to go from place to place, and, by means of threats and intimidation, endeavor to compel employers to discharge peaceable and industrious Chinamen engaged in their service. There are other provisions, both civil and criminal, of a similar character, having the same end in view.

Only a few days since, the Supreme Court of the United States sustained an indictment in *In re Coles* and *The Commonwealth of Virginia*, petitioners, on *habeas corpus* against a County Judge of Virginia, found under section 4 of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 (18 Stat. 336), for failing to summon colored citizens as jurors, "on account of race and color." The Court held this Act to be constitutional and valid under the Fourteenth Amendment, *and that it deprived colored citizens of the equal protection of the laws.* Thus it appears that Congress, by the most stringent statutory provisions, has provided for the protection of all citizens and persons within the jurisdiction of the United States, in the full and complete enjoyment of the "equal protection of the laws," and of all "privileges and immunities guaranteed" by the Fourteenth Amendment in all their phases; and that the highest judicial tribunal of the nation has deemed it its duty to give such statutory provisions the fullest and most complete effect.

The result is that the prisoner is in custody in violation both of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and of the treaty between the United States and the Empire of China, and is entitled to be discharged; and it is so ordered.

March 22, 1880.

California Deposited

PROCEEDINGS

AND LIST OF DELEGATES

CALIFORNIA

Chinese Exclusion Convention

Called by the Board of Supervisors of the City and County
of San Francisco, and composed of 3000 Delegates from
State, County and Municipal Bodies, Civic,
Labor and Commercial Organizations.

HELD AT

METROPOLITAN TEMPLE, SAN FRANCISCO

November 21 and 22, 1901

ALSO

CALIFORNIA'S MEMORIAL

TO THE

President and the Congress of the United States

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL
THE STAR PRESS *JAMES H. BARRY*

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INDEX.

Page.

List of Delegates.................................... 5
Opening Address by Mayor Phelan................ 25
Address by Hon. T. J. Geary....................... 28
Address by U. S. Senator Perkins.................. 33
Address by Andrea Sbarboro....................... 35
Communication 39
Address by Congressman Coombs................. 43
Committees 45
Report of Committee on Permanent Organization.... 46
Address by D. E. McKinlay......................... 47
Address by Rev. William Rader.................... 52
Address by Mayor Snyder, of Los Angeles........... 57
Communication from Truxtun Beale................ 58
Address by Congressman Wood..................... 62
Letter from Mayor-elect Schmitz.................... 65
Address by W. A. Cole............................ 66
Additional Remarks by Congressman Wood......... 67
Address by Harry Ryan............................ 67
Address by R. T. McIvor........................... 71
Address by E. L. Malsbury......................... 72
Address by F. C. Wheeler.......................... 73
Communication from Hon. Alden Anderson......... 75
Address by J. S. Taylor............................ 77
Address by J. R. Miller, of St. Louis................ 78
Address by Dr. J. M. Williamson................... 81
Address by G. B. Benham.......................... 86
Address by J. C. Millan............................ 89
Report of Committee on Memorial and Resolutions.. 92
Address by Walter Macarthur...................... 98
Supplemental Report of Committee on Memorial and Resolutions (on Japanese Immigration)............ 102
Address by Hon. Robert N. Bulla, of Los Angeles... 103
Address by Rev. Peter C. Yorke.................... 104
Appendix 111

LIST OF DELEGATES

TO THE

CHINESE EXCLUSION CONVENTION.

CITY COUNCILS AND DELEGATES.

ALAMEDA.—Trustees: J. F. Forderer, A. F. Mackie, G. R. Miller, B. E. Coombs, Chas. J. Hammond. Delegates: Col. J. J. Tobin, J. N. Young, C. C. Volberg, Chas. W. Von Radesky, Geo. C. Babcock.

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VENTURA.—Trustees: J. S. Collins, S. L. Shaw, N. Hearne, J. Ferand, N. Vickers.

VACAVILLE.—Trustees: D. K. Corn, S. P. Dobbins, F. B. McKevitt, G. W. Crystal, B. Crostwaite.

WATSONVILLE.—Trustees: O. S. Tuttle, W. A. Trafton, M. Cassin, J. J. King, W. F. Palmtag.

WINTERS—Trustees: R. L. Day, D. O. Judy, A. A. Prescott, H. Seaman, E. Ireland. Delegate: Frank H. Owen.

WOODLAND.—Trustees: E. P. Huston, J. J. Brown, W. H. Troop, T. B. Gibson, W. P. Craig. Delegates: E. E. Weaks, Arthur C. Huston.

WILLOWS.—Trustees: Col. F. G. Crawford, H. J. Sumners, Z. T. Cowart, Henry Bielar, J. H. Mitchell, Thos. Killebrew, Jos. Muller, Chas. Ayer.

WHITTIER.—Trustees: D. C. Andrews, C. J. Cook, Lewis Landreth, R. B. Way.

YREKA—Trustees: A. E. Tunker, L. E. Guilbert, O. A. Bennett, H. Koester, C. H. Morrison.

SAN LUIS OBISPO.—Trustees: Wm. Shipsey, F. S. Finney, McD. R. Venable, Wm. Mallagh, A. G. Pinho. Delegates: F. S. Finney, Hon. Warren M. John.

BOARDS OF SUPERVISORS AND DELEGATES.

ALAMEDA COUNTY.—Supervisors: J. R. Talcott, W. H. Church, H. D. Rowe. John Mitchell, C. F. Horner. Delegates: W. T. Harris, C. L. Ingler.

ALPINE COUNTY.—Supervisors: H. W. Curtz, W. C. Musser, Ernest Scossa, John Ellis, R. W. Bassman.

AMADOR COUNTY.—Supervisors: M. Newman, Wesley M. Amick, A. B. McLaughlin, Fred. B. LeMoin. Delegates: Hon. C. P. Vicini, Hon. A. Caminetti, Hon. John F. Davis, Hon. E. C. Voorhies, L. A. Gross.

BUTTE COUNTY.—Supervisors: J. C. Boyle, E. T. Reynolds, T. V. Fimple, Edward Wilson, J. P. Kimbrell.

CALAVERAS COUNTY.—Supervisors: Henry Hemmighofen, John Late, H. B. Weigand, J. W. Roberts, Robert E. Walsh.

COLUSA COUNTY.—Supervisors: G. W. Allgaier, C. C. Felts, J. E. Rathbun, C. P. Wilson, F. G. Myers. Delegates: A. A. Thayer, H. W. Seaton, J. W. Kearth.

CONTRA COSTA COUNTY.—Supervisors: Patrick Tormey, J. M. Stow, E. J. Randall, Paul DeMartini, J. D. Wightman. Delegates: Curtis F. Montgomery, G. E. Milnes, T. E. Murphy, W. A. Rugg, W. G. Hawes.

DEL NORTE COUNTY.—Supervisors: John Miller, C. W. Beacom, Daniel Haight, Wm. D. Tyron, E. J. Murphy. Delegates: L. D. Windrem, John L. Childs, A. J. Huffman, J. B. Endert, Jos. M. Hamilton.

EL DORADO COUNTY.—Supervisors: M. Mayer, W. W. Hoyt, G. M. Carsten, S. D. Diehl, Geo. H. Heuser.

FRESNO COUNTY.—Supervisors: Thos. Martin, Phil. Scott, H. E. Burleigh, S. J. Bullard, W. D. Mitchell.

GLENN COUNTY.—Geo. C. Prentice, V. C. Cleek, Asa M. Jackson, P. R. Garnett, W. H. Hodgson.

HUMBOLDT COUNTY.—Supervisors: George Hindley, S. F. Pine, J. S. Brown, W. J. Swortzel, Hector McLeod.

INYO COUNTY.—Supervisors: N. J. Cooley, W. P. Yaney, James Jones, T. C. Boland, Jas. A. MacKenzie.

KERN COUNTY.—Supervisors: H. A. Jastro, J. W. Shaffer, Jeremiah Shields J. W. Kelly, J. T. Bottoms. Delegates: T. A. Eckles, J. R. Williams, J. T. Basye, E. J. Emmons, J. W. P. Laird.

KINGS COUNTY.—Supervisors: J. T. McJunkin, L. S. Chittenden, Geo. Tomer, W. S. Burr, S. McLaughlin.

LAKE COUNTY.—Supervisors: L. Henderson, G. W. Kemp, Chas. Phillips, A. F. Morrell, G. A. Lyon.

LASSEN COUNTY.—Supervisors: J. H. Riley, S. S. Barr, J. L. Fisher, W. D. Packwood, P. J. Goumaz.

LOS ANGELES COUNTY.—Supervisors: O. W. Longden, Geo. Alexander, E. S. Field, P. J. Wilson, Jas. Hanley. Delegates: Thos. Hughes, R. J. Adcock.

MADERA COUNTY.—Supervisors: E. H. Chapin, J. C. Straube, W. S. Patterson, H. A. Krohn, J. F. Daulton.

MARIN COUNTY.—Supervisors: Wm. Barr, C. J. Dowd, Frank J. Murray, Henry Goudy, H. M. Farley.

MARIPOSA COUNTY.—Supervisors: James Lindsey, Isaac Lyons, W. M. Eubanks, J. W. Collins, H. W. Cornett.

MENDOCINO COUNTY.—Supervisors: C. P. Smith, Ole Simonson, R. H. Rawles, A. M. Duncan, Leonard Barnard.

MERCED COUNTY.—Supervisors: A. B. Hamilton, Thomas Price, C. H. Deane, Geo. H. Whitworth, W. H. Ogden. Delegates: W. B. Croop, E. L. Sturgeon, F. W. Yokum, J. H. Anderson, J. O. Hoyle

MODOC COUNTY.—Supervisors: John Bucher, James Wylie, John H. Dawson, John D. Flournoy, D. B. Kane.

MONO COUNTY.—Supervisors: N. W. Boyd, David Hays, R. G. Montrose, Harry Shaw, C. W. Rickey.

MONTEREY COUNTY.—Supervisors: W. J. IRVINE, J. L. MANN, T. J. Field G. S. Redmond, A. Widemann.

NAPA COUNTY.—Supervisors: E. Light, A. J. Raney, Williamson Finnell, F. W. Bush, Matt Vandeleur. Delegates: F. E. Johnston, Theo. A. Bell, N. W. Collins, H. C. Gesford, O. H. Blank.

NEVADA COUNTY.—Supervisors: W. H. Martin, C. J. Miller, A. J. Wood, John Fay.

ORANGE COUNTY.—Supervisors: F. P. Nickey, R. E. Larter, W. G. Potter, Dewitt C. Pixley, John F. Snover.

PLACER COUNTY.—Supervisors: L. D. Adams, R. H. Copp, W. A. Freeman, John McAninch, Wm. Kilgo. Delegates: B. B. Deming, E. C. Kavanaugh, J. S. Mariner, Ivan H. Parker, B. N. Scribner, Jr.

PLUMAS COUNTY.—Supervisors: Frank Campbell, H. McCutcheon, L. W. Bunnell, Jacob Stephan, J. W. Denton.

RIVERSIDE COUNTY.—Supervisors: F. M. Dunbar, C. W. Craven, A. T. Kimbell, Elwood Lilley, John Shaver. Delegates: E. P. Clark, P. S. Castleman, Herb. C. Foster, Arthur J. Munn, Allan C. Keith.

SACRAMENTO COUNTY.—Supervisors: Wm. Curtis, Dougald Gillis, William McLaughlin, James M. Morrison, Thomas Jenkins.

SAN BENITO COUNTY.—Supervisors: W. S. Prescott, Wm. Butts, Wm. Palmtag, Henry Perry, A. H. Fredson.

SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY.—Supervisors. J. B. Glover, John D. Clark, George R. Holbrook, Theo. F. White, J. H. West. Delegates: John A. Cole, John O'Donnell, A. P. Harwood, H. D. Moore, Walter Grow.

SAN DIEGO COUNTY.—Supervisors: John Griffin, William Justice, James A. Jasper, C. H. Swallow, H. M. Cherry. Delegates: Dr. F. R. Burnham, W. R. Guy, Geo. E. Mason, Chas. K. Hohnburg, M. M. Moulton.

SAN FRANCSCO COUNTY.—Supervisors: Jas. P. Booth, Chas. Boxton, Henry U. Brandenstein, Samuel Braunhart, A. Comte, Jr., John Connor, Peter J. Curtis, A. A. D'Ancona, L. J. Dwyer, M. F. Fontana, Richard M. Hotaling, Thomas Jennings, Wm. N. McCarthy, Chas. Wesley Reed, George R. Sanderson, Henry J. Stafford, Joseph S. Tobin, Horace Wilson. Delegates: W. H. L. Barnes, James H. Barry, E. E. Schmitz, Truxton Beale, J. C. Simms.

SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY.—Supervisors: E. E. Tretheway, O. S. Henderson, Geo. M. French, C. L. Newton, H. B. Knight. Delegates: H. M. Alexander, A. R. Hopkins, Chas. M. Weber, Chas. H. Fairall, Irving Martin.

SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY.—Supervisors: J. W. Gilliam, F. H. Smith, E. R. Freeman, E. M. Payne, Paul Pfister.

SAN MATEO COUNTY.—Supervisors: Julius E. Kerenkotter, J. H. Coleman, P. H. McEvoy, Jos. Debenedetti, John McCormick. Delegates: W. J. Martin, W. B. Lawrence, Geo. C. Ross, Horace Nelson, James McCormick.

SANTA BARBARA COUNTY.—Supervisors: A. W. Cox, W. W. Broughton, W. S. Parks, E. C. Tallant, John W. Bailard.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY.—Supervisors: Geo. E. Rea, Paul P. Austin, Fred M. Stern, John Roll, F. W. Knowles. Delegates: R. F. Robertson, Henry W. Edwards, Edward Crawford, R. R. Syer, Neil Henry.

SANTA CRUZ COUNTY.—Supervisors: F. D. Baldwin, J. S. Collins, Edward White, J. D. Esty, Joseph Ball.

SHASTA COUNTY.—Supervisors: O. Gruttner, A. Cahone, W. F. Smith, C. C. Bidwell, C. H. Stevens.

SIERRA COUNTY.—Supervisors: H. J. R. Meroux, J. M. Gorham, J. J. Millar, Wm. Donaldson, Clarence Hooper. Delegates: Frank R. Wehe, A. S. Nichols, Frank L. Cole.

SISKIYOU COUNTY.—Supervisors: H. H. Patterson, Charles Kappler, Abner Weed, E. E. Williams, S. R. Gardner. Delegate: L. F. Cobury.

SOLANO COUNTY.—Supervisors: D. M. Fleming, G. A. Bergwall, W. L. Crooks, T. H. Buckingham, J. E. Sullivan. Delegates: J. B. Dale, Patrick Dineen, B. J. Devlin, Thos. J. Lenahan, J. L. Smith.

SONOMA COUNTY.—Supervisors: Frank B. Glynn, Herbert W. Austin, Gallant Rains, Joseph A. McMinn, Blair Hart. Delegates: Thomas J. Geary, J. C. Keane, H. H. Granice, J. D. Connolly, Harrison Meacham.

STANISLAUS COUNTY.—Supervisors: M. A. Lewis, J. W. Davison, T. J. Carmichael, W. F. Coffee, A. E. Clary. Delegates: E. L. Barkis, V. E. Bangs, L. L. Dennett, J. J. Jones, G. R. Stewart.

SUTTER COUNTY.—Supervisors: Frank H. Graves, E. J. White, W. P. Niesen, John Burns, J. P. Glenn. Delegates: N. S. Wilson, Geo. H. Sterns, W. M. Tharp, L. P. Farmer, Frederick Glazier.

TEHAMA COUNTY.—Supervisors: V. T. Burress, A. O. White, John Gilmore, W. D. Russell, W. H. Samson.

TRINITY COUNTY.—Supervisors: John H. Boyce, D. P. Davis, H. Hutchins, F. C. Meckel, L. Grigsby.

TULARE COUNTY.—Supervisors: Robert Baker, D. V. Robinson, T. B. Twaddle, J. W. Thomas, R. N. Clack.

TUOLUMNE COUNTY.—Supervisors: T. A. Hender, A. S. McKenzie, W. E. Booker, J. M. Phelan, W. H. Rushing. Delegates: Wm. Grand, D. L. Sayre, W. H. McClintock.

VENTURA COUNTY.—Supervisors: F. Hartman, D. A. Smith, A. B. Smith, T. G. Gabbert, R. Touchton.

YOLO COUNTY.—Supervisors: W. O. Russell, T. C. Snider, J. N. Decker, Geo. H. Hoppin, J. W. Bandy.

YUBA COUNTY.—Supervisors: Hugh McGuire, A. C. Irwin, W. B. Filcher, Wm. M. Jefferds, W. J. Mellon. Delegates: E. P. McDaniel, Justus Greely, D. P. Donahoe, A. C. Stagner, W. B. Meek.

SAN FRANCISCO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

SHIP DRILLERS' UNION.—A. Manogue, D. Boyle, Wm. Gerahty.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA, UNION NO. 22.—P. H. McCarthy, E. P. Nicholas, E. L. Malsbary.

BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPER-HANGERS OF AMERICA, UNION NO. 73.—R. T. McIvor. E. G. Bean, T. C. Lynch.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS NO. 68.—H. M. Burnet, Wm. Denlaney, Jas. Maginnis.

SHIPWRIGHTS' AND CAULKERS' UNION NO. 9162.—J. J. Mayblum, W. McGregor, Geo. McLeoud.

AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSN., NO. 104.—C. S. Penn, Thomas Madden, Harry Cassidy.

UPHOLSTERERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, NO. 52.—Samuel McDowell, Wm. H. Baker, John J. Joell.

WOOD, WIRE AND METAL LATHERS' UNION.—G. C. Buckmaster, D. J. Dunn, Wm. Allen.

AMALGAMATED WOOD WORKERS' UNION NO. 15.—Henry Thieler, Jacob Mayblum, Harry Zitzch.

WOOL SORTERS' AND GRADERS' UNION.—James Donovan, Edward Ryne, W. H. Shepard.

IRON MOULDERS' UNION NO 164.—James De Succa, James Crowley, H. Dun.

METAL WORKERS' UNION NO. 1.—Thomas J. Goodhue, T. F. Harrigan, P. C. Parrison.

NATIONAL UNION OF UNITED BREWREY WORKMEN NO. 7.—John Guinnee, Ludwig Berg.

HOISTING ENGINEERS' UNION NO. 59.—T. Treacy, T. Winship, C. Thomas.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STEAM AND HOT WATER FITTERS AND HELPERS OF AMERICA NO. 46.—P. D. Hayes, Samuel Grubb, James Graham.

SHIP AND MACHINE BLACKSMITHS' UNION NO. 168.—John Duncanson. Robert Harcourt, John Montgomery. Alternates: James McTiernan, James McDade, S. W. Taylor.

GRANITE CUTTERS' NATIONAL UNION.—John Spargo, Hugh Roberts, F. C. Russell.

CIGARMAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA NO. 228.—J. C. Millan, N. Blum, F. Westcott.

MARBLE CUTTERS' AND FINISHERS' ASSOCIATION.—John E. McDougald, Thomas Allen ,William Mays.

CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS' UNION NO. 68.—Thos. H. Osborne, Frank P. Hunt, Asa Black.

SIGN AND PICTORIAL PAINTERS' UNION NO. 132.—Wm. J. X. Robinson, Phil Brooks, Gavin W. Gibb.

RETAIL CLERKS PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION NO. 432.—Lewis D. Wallenstein, James A. Johnston, J. E. Field.

LABORERS' PROTECTIVE UNION NO. 8944.—Thomas Regan, C. M. Errickson, Jno. H. Weidemann.

SHIP AND STEAMBOAT JOINERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.—Sherwood J Runger, T. Westoby.

PILE DRIVERS' AND BRIDGE BUILDERS' UNION NO. 1.—D. McEachen, J. Cassiday, T. E. Zant.

COOKS' AND WAITERS' ALLIANCE NO. 30.—C. D. Laughlin, H. H. Hoffman, W. L. Caudle.

BOOT AND SHOE REPAIRERS' UNION.—John Grace, David Steinberg, Geo. W. Lewis.

CEMENT WORKERS' UNION OF CALIFORNIA.—Wm. A. Best, Thomas K. Ryan, O. A. Tveitmoe.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS NO. 483.—Wm. Shaw, Oscar Cutter, Wm. Cole.

VARNISHERS' AND POLISHERS' UNION NO. 134.—Jos. Tuite, W. M. Page, G. Collopy

BOILER MAKERS' AND IRON SHIP BUILDERS HELPERS' UNION NO. 9052.—E. P. Desmond, R. Haas, W. D. Getchell.

NATIONAL UNION OF UNITED BREWREY WORKMEN NO. 227.—J. T. Heaney, John Shea, Rudolf Speck.

STEAM LAUNDRY WORKERS' UNION NO. 26.—J. D. Campbell, Wm. Downey, Fred Cain.

JOURNEYMEN SHIPWRIGHTS' ASSOCIATION.—Joseph Goss, R. W. Getty, Thos. McConnell.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION NO. 216.—H. Gallagher, Ed. J. Walsh, Walter Walker.

BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL.—J. B. Williams, Louis Chester, M. Norton.

AMALGAMATED LEATHER WORKERS' UNION NO. 2.—John Lynch, Alex Larsen, Rudodph Urbais.

JOURNEYMEN STONE CUTTERS' ASSOCIATION.—Dominic A. Walsh, F. O'Neil. Wm. Pollock.

NATIONAL UNION OF UNITED BREWERY WORKMEN NO. 102.—Valentine Britton, Henry Kuhl, P. J. McKeon.

UNITED GARMENT WORKERS NO. 131.—W. B. Mason, Edward Corpe, Edward McCormick, Chas. A. Calhoun.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS NO. 99.—Chas. H. Siskron, R. Cassidy, W. C. Ward.

MUSICIANS' MUTUAL PROTECTIVE UNION.—M. Davis, E. W. Kent, C. Abbitati

RAMMERMENS' UNION.—J. H. Murphy, David Byrnes, John Victony.

JOURNEYMEN BAKERS' AND CONFECTIONERS' UNION NO. 24.—John Barrett, Geo. Stein, Charles Bleckmann.

DRUG CLERKS' ASSOCIATION.—W. P. Wynne, J. H. Hubachek, O. Eastland.

CLOAKMAKERS' UNION NO. 8.—I Jacoby, M. Goodman, J. Samuel.

UNITED METAL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION NO. 27. (MACHINE HANDS' UNION NO. 27.)—Geo. Gill, Ed. Taylor, Thos. Lewis.

LONGSHOREMEN'S PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION NO. 228.—Chas. Kelley, John Coghlin, Thos. Eagan.

SAN FRANCISCO TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION NO. 21.—George H. Knell, A. B. Sanborn, F. J. Bonnington.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS' UNION NO. 6.—A. E. Drendell, L. R. Boyton, F. F. Boyd.

BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS NO. 85.—Michael Casey, August Hardes, John McLaughlin.

PACKERS,' PORTERS' AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION NO. 8885.—J. E. O'Neil. Robert J. Loughery, Thos. Dolan.

UNION LABOR PARTY.—T. Ryan, Geo. F. Aubertine, F. Cassidy.

JOURNEYMEN BARBERS' UNION NO. 148.—J. V. Ducoin, H. Holcomb, Geo. Abrego.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA NO. 423.—Thomas McGuire, Thomas E. Priest, George W. Scott.

PRINTING PRESSMEN'S UNION NO. 24.—G. B. Benham, George Maloney, J. Rowan.

INTERNATIOAL UNION STEAM ENGINEERS UNION NO. 64.—W. M. Jones, F. J. Lanahan, James A. Bruce.

COOKS' ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST.—Arthur Logan, George Rabbitt, Morris Catz, Jess Sanders.

SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL.—Thos. Wright, J. K. Phillips, Ed. Rosenberg.

THEATRICAL EMPLOYEES' PROTECTIVE UNION.—G. D. Simmons, Jr., W. B. Mortimer, Wm. G. Rusk.

BAKERS' AND CONFECTIONERS' UNION NO. 125.—C. P. Dowd, Wm. Keegan, H. Schetter.

BAKERS' AND CONFECTIONERS' UNION NO. 106.—Eugene Muller.

CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.—C. D. Rogers, Guy Lathrop.

FRENCH LAUNDRY WORKERS' UNION NO. 23.—J. Bouscat.

AMALGAMATED WOOD WORKERS UNION NO. 152.—H. Brockowsky, Jno. J. Cornyn, William Mindham.

BARTENDERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE NO. 41.—Geo. F. Poulson, Al. Condrotte, Frank Meyer.

S. F. NEWSPAPER CARRIER'S UNION.—T. Connell, A. W. Downes. John F. Kujcik.

UPHOLSTERERS' UNION NO. 28.—Mr. Rosenthal, Mr. Eleben, Mr. Barry.

GOLDEN GATE LODGE OF OPERATIVE PLASTERERS NO. 66.—John Bradley, Milton Cunning, James Marron.

DERRICKMEN AND ENGINEERS' UNION NO. 1.—R. W. McCann, W. C. FRENCH, H. W. Tyler.

SAN FRANCISCO SHIP CAULKERS' ASSOCIATION.—John Roberts, Thomas Cavanagh, Stephen Powers.

SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC.—John Kean, Walter Macarthur, Thomas Finnerty.

BLACKSMITH HELPERS' UNION NO. 8922.—John J. Furey, George Gibson, James McFeeley.

PACIFIC COAST WAITERS' ASSOCIATION.—Fred Erreth, M. T, Scott, George Rowe.

STEAMSHIP PAINTERS NO. 1.—F. Z. Angell, J. J. Culliviane.

PACIFIC COAST MARINE FIREMEN.—John Bell, C. J. Harrington, John Gavin.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.—Geo. Estes.

STABLEMEN'S UNION NO. 860.—Fred Querrin, J. P. Swanson, Chas. Fell.

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION NO. 22.—J. C. Williams, Thos. J. Mahoney, J. R. Montague.

INTERNATIONAL BROOM MAKERS' UNION NO. 58.—Wallace Sturges, Henry Stuly, Bonar Wilt.

BOILER-MAKERS AND IRON SHIPBUILDERS.—R. Ellis, Thos. Roabuck, Thos. Dulligan, D. F. Murphy.

JOURNEYMEN SHIPWRIGHTS' ASSOCIATION.—Jas. Gass.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS NO. 6.—F. F. Boyd, A. C. Drendell.

HACKMEN'S UNION NO. 224.—Jas. Kerr, Jas. Brown, M. Kelly.

LAUNDRY WAGON DRIVERS NO. 256.—P. Tamony.

MARINE COOKS AND STEWARDS.—Emil Carthofuer.

RETAIL SHOE CLERKS NO. 410.—J. J. Grant, Guy Windrew.

COOPERS' INTERNATIONAL NO. 65.—M. Monaghan.

OAKLAND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS NO. 284.—D. Mosse, J. G. Hill, F. A. Genung.

COOKS' AND WAITERS' ALLIANCE NO. 31.—Perry Conwell, M. L. Medim, Chas. W. Thores.

STEAM AND ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS' UNION NO. 67.—S. A. Fletcher.

MILLMENS' UNION NO. 550.—J. J. Lewis, J. Hincheon, M. F. Barclay.

RETAIL CLERKS' UNION NO. 47.—Chas. A. Sinclair, J. B. Reboli, Geo. E. Robinson.

BROTHERHOOD PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS NO. 127.—Wm. P. Ward, H. G. Madden, C. K. Townsend.

CARPENTERS' AND JOINERS' UNION NO. 36.—T. T. Frickstad, F. Murdock, L. Roberts.

JOURNEYMEN BARBERS' UNION NO. 134.—C. W. Presher, Abe Davis, D. F. Curley.

PLUMBERS' AND GAS FITTERS' UNION OF ALAMEDA.—Geo. Fitzgerald, J. E. Ayres, Geo. Stoddard.

SHINGLERS' UNION.—F. C. Bochmer, D. E. Bell, T. J. Courtney.

BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL OF ALAMEDA.—J. T. Kerns, J. P. Manning, E. Ringer.

LAUNDRY WORKERS' UNION.—Arthur V. O'Neill, Geo. Carrington, Aug. Clodius.

CIGAR MAKERS NO. 253.—Geo. Wigington, J. Holiday, Geo. R. Permein.

ALAMEDA CO. FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL.—C. H. Ferguson, G. K. Smith.

SACRAMENTO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

MECHANICAL STAGE HANDS' UNION.—J. H. McGinniss, Max Ginsberg.

PRINTING PRESSMENS' UNION NO. 60.—D. D. Sullivan.

FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL.—Thomas McCabe, Frank E. Smith, Presley T. Johnston.

BROTHERHOOD OF BOOKBINDERS NO. 35.—L. P. Williams.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF LEATHER WORKERS.—Thos. Hesson.

BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPER-HANGERS NO. 71.—Samuel Jennings, Lou Anderson, Wm. T. Eaton, Geo. N. Wood.

CARPENTERS' AND JOINERS' UNION NO. 586.—Wm. Pook, C. C. Hall, J. Sabin.

SACRAMENTO TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION NO. 46.—H. Rogers, J. Alexander, Wm. Halley.

PLUMLBERS' UNION.—Mr. Waterman.

PLASTERER'S UNION.—Mr. Farrell.

MILL HANDS.—P. A. Webber.

SHIRT WAIST AND LAUNDRY WORKERS' UNION NO. 75.—William Ruser, D. Luheck, Lexter A. Greenlan.

SAN JOSE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPER-HANGERS NO. 114.—George W. Moody, George B. Nugent, Walter McGinley. Alternates: J. Spellman, Wm. Burns, W. H. Arment.

PLASTERERS' UNION.—W. W. Wyatt, Daniel Hayes, G. S. Stockwell.

LABORERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.—J. L. Brown.

BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL.—Charles B. Schaefer, Harrry Ryan, J. C. Finnegan.

MUSICIANS' PROTECTIVE UNION.—W. M. Herrman, H. M. McCabe, B. J. Schwartz.

STABLEMEN'S UNION NO. 9026.—D. A. Venable, Al Simpson, John Lane.

CIGARMAKERS' UNION NO. 291.—E. Wentzel, D. J. Herel, F. J. Hepp.

MILLMEN'S UNION NO. 262.—Chas. A. Bell, Ed. White, Thomas Graham.

STEAM LAUNDRY WORKERS' UNION NO. 33.—Delegates: Geo. H. Plumb, Peter Van Houte, W. Alexander. Alternates: Fred H. Tipton, James C. Carter, Albert Bender.

FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL.—H. Thiel, C. T. O'Connel, J. Doblin.

BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS NO. 316.—Stanley Hichborn, W. L. Yard, E. W. M. Bateman.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION STATIONARY ENGINEERS.—J. C. Higgins, B. F. Conley, A. E. Stanley.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION NO. 231.—Henry Thiel.

SAN JOSE BUTCHERS' UNION NO. 130.—Chas. J. O'Connell.

FRESNO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

PAINTERS,' DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS' UNION NO. 294.—J. F. Gallmann, J. H. Hillman, C. H. Cornellins. Alternates: George Bush, Fred Noble.

BRICKMASONS' UNION.—W. S. Scott, C. H. Scott, E. Reufro.

BUTCHERS' UNION NO. 126.—Jesse M. Cook.

FEDERATED TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL.—Wm. Groom.

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN NO. 126.—Jesse M. Cook.

LOS ANGELES LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

INTERNATIONAL BROOM MAKERS' UNION NO. 53.—T. S. Dunn, J. T. Keane, F. Romp.

COUNCIL OF LABOR.—Ed. Crowell, George H. Hewes.

COOKS' ALLIANCE NO. 258.—J. A. Brose.

PLUMBERS.' GAS FITTERS, STEAM FITTERS' AND STEAM FITTERS HELPERS' UNION NO. 78.—C. B. Bailey.

SHINGLERS' UNION NO. 9253.—Sanborn Howard, L. A. Swan, E. W. Kiese.

TEAMSTERS UNION, LOCAL 208.—Lee Richardson.

VALLEJO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.—A. B. Willey, Geo. S. Smith, Fred Bonnell.

MECHANICS HELPERS' UNION NO. 8841.—D. H. Leavitt.

TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL.—J. B. Dale, L. B. Leavitt, Frank Roney.

HAYWARDS LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

CARPENTERS' AND JOINERS' UNION.—J. Ludwig, F. Soares.

RANDSBURG MINERS' UNION NO. 44.—T. B. Echles.

TANNERS' UNION NO. 9119, REDWOOD CITY.—John J. Read, A. McLaughlin.

TANNERS' UNION, BENICIA, NO. 9112.—Julius G. Opperman.

BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL OF BAKERSFIELD.—J. Sterff.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS NO. 668 OF PALO ALTO.—F. A. Sullivan, S. W. Pennington.

SAN FRANCISCO CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION.—Wm. Rader, D. D., D. Gilbert Dexter, J. H. Humphreys.

MANUFACTURERS AND PRODUCERS ASSOCIATION OF CAL.—A Sbarbaro, J. P. Courrier, A. C. Rulofson.

WESTERN ADDITION IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—M. Rosenthal, J. Henderson, Naph. B. Greensfelder.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF SAN FRANCISCO.—N. Delbanco, Gustave Schnee, Isidor Jacobs.

CALIFORNIA STATE BOARD OF TRADE.—W. H. Mills, C. M. Wooster, Craigie Sharp.

HAYES VALLEY IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—G. A. Cutler, M. S. Cohen, Albert J. Schohay.

MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION.—Marshal Hale, Andrew M. Davis, Frank J. Symmes.

CALIFORNIA COLONY ASSOCIATION.—H. D. Loveland, C. H. Crocker, Wm. M. Weil.

POINT LOBOS IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—H. U. Jaudin, George R. Fletcher, O. K. Cushing.

IROQUOIS CLUB.—Wm. Cannon, J. C. Gorman, Max Popper.

PANHANDLE AND ASHBURY HEIGHTS IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—I P. Allen, E. L. Head, Paul F. Kingston.

UNION LEAGUE CLUB.—H. G. W. Dinkelspiel, Col. J. B. Fuller, Hon. S. M. Shortridge.

VETERANS' CIVIL WAR ASSOCIATION.—W. H. H. Hart, John L. Boone, Martin Murray, W. H. Pratt, A. L. Rockwood.

MUNICIPAL FEDERATION OF IMPROVEMENT CLUBS.—Nathan Bibo. Capt. Emanuel Lorenzo, Chas. Alpers.

POLK STREET IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—A. G. Kleinert, J. W. Quinn, Val Schmidt.

LARKIN STREET IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—W. T. Kibbler, H. P. McPherson, Joe H. Alfonso.

DEVISADERO STREET IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—H. W. Miller, W. S. Upham, Will C. Hays.

MERCHANTS' IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—Jacob Kallmann, F. T. Knoles, S. E. Ellis.

RICHMOND DISTRICT IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—Charles H. Hubbs, Charles F. Muller, E. P. E. Troy.

SIXTH STREET IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—Larry Walsh, L. V. Merle Chas. Gildea.

COMMERCIAL TRAVELERS' ASSOCIATION.—Samuel Seymour, Emmett Dunn.

GARFIELD LEAGUE OF SAN FRANCISCO.—E. M. Galvin, T. F. Bachelder, J. J. Meneses.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS.

MARYSVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—E. A. Forbes, A. C. Irwin.

VALLEJO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—T. R. Devlin, Hon. J. J. Luchsinger, Geo. J. Campbell, Jr.

SAN DIEGO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—George H. Ballou, Philip Morse, Dr. R. M. Powers.

SANTA ANA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—Hon. D. M. Baker.

SACRAMENTO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—A. C. Hinkson, R. D. Stephens, M. R. Beard.

LOS ANGELES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—

LOS ANGELES BOARD OF TRADE.—

SONOMA COUNTY BOARD OF TRADE.—A. B. Lemmon, E. F. Dowd, E. L. Finley.

OAKLAND BOARD OF TRADE.—M. J. Keller, Chas. J. Heesman, Geo. E. Fairchild.

SAN RAFAEL BOARD OF TRADE.—Captain H. A. Gorley, D. W. Martens, M. F. Cochrane.

ALAMEDA BOARD OF TRADE.—C. W. von Radesky, F. N. Delanoy, J. B. Vosburgh.

HAYWARDS BOARD OF TRADE.—Geo. A. Oakes, O. R. Morgan, G. Toyne.

NAPA GRANGE.—J. S. Taylor, J. J. Swift, Hon. F. E. Johnston.

POMONA BOARD OF TRADE.—Russell K. Pitzer, L. F. Dreher.

CORONA BOARD OF TRADE.—J. C. Gleason, Wm. Corkhill, T. P. Drinkwater.

SAN LEANDRO BOARD OF TRADE.—O. J. Lynch, J. M. Estudillo, H. A. Morin.

MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE OF OAKLAND.—Wilber Walker, J. F. W. Sohst, George W. Arper.

WOODLAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—Judge E. E. Gaddis, G. W. Pierce, J. H. Dungan.

HUMBOLDT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—John C. Bull, Jr.

GRASS VALLEY BOARD OF TRADE.—Albert George.

FEDERATION OF MISSION IMPT. CLUBS.—Wm. C. Dubois, Geo. P. Center, Major Barna McKinney.

REDDING BOARD OF TRADE.—James A. Drynan, Geo. P. Covert, F. P. Prossius.

SOCIETY OF OLD FRIENDS.—Dr. C. C. O'Donnell.

STAR KING COUNCIL NO. 6.—C. M. Odell, J. T. Godwin, G. F. Fletcher

ADDITIONAL DELEGATES.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS, LOCAL NO 151.—Geo. Cooney, J. J. Gunther, M. J. Sullivan.

NATIVE SONS OF THE GOLDEN WEST.—J. F. Stanley, Wm. P. Johnson, S. A. D. Jones.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CITY OF SANTA CLARA.—Miss J. R. Cole, Jos. Lawrence, Jos. O'Brien.

HESPERIAN PARLOR, NATIVE SONS OF GOLDEN WEST.—F. G. Norman Jr., Jas. H. Roxburgh.

CITY OF SONOMA.—F. S. Duhring, Jo. B. Small, S. Cincci, W. R. Stammers, R. G. Shoults.

STEAM LAUNDRY WORKERS, LOCAL NO. 26.—Jno. D. Campbell, Wm. Downey, Fred Kane.

CIGARMAKERS' UNION NO. 253, OAKLAND, CAL.—Geo. Wigington, I. Holiday, Geo. R. Permien.

CITY OF VISALIA.—Nem M. Maddox, Susman Mitchell, T. E. Clark, E. C. Larkins, E. M. Jefferds.

HAYES VALLEY IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—George A. Cutler, Albert J. Schohay, M. S. Cohen.

TRUCK AND TEAMSTERS' UNION NO. 208, LOS ANGELES.—Lee Richardson.

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, LOS ANGELES.—Thos. Hughes.

DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF NEWSPAPERS OF CALIFORNIA.—T. F. Bonnet, W. D. Wasson, H. A. McCraney, James P. Booth, Mark R. Plaisted.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA NO. 332, LOS ANGELES, CAL.—S. M. Anderson, F. C. Wheeler.

ARMY AND NAVY LEAGUE, SANTA CLARA.—J. S. Gage, D. S. Bryant, N. A. Colter.

SALINAS CITY, COUNTY OF MONTEREY.—J. D. Brower, A. B. Jamieson, F. A. Treat, J. H. Kaiser.

CITY OF WOODLAND.—Edward E. Leake, Arthur C. Huston.

CITY OF LOS ANGELES.—R. N. Bulla, R. F. Del Valle, H. Jebne, Byron Oliver, Frank Walker.

SAN LUIS OBISPO PARLOR, N. S. G. W.—T. G. Bowen.

CITY OF ALAMEDA.—J. N. Young.

VALLEJO, CAL., UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.—Geo. E. Smith, A. B. Willey, F. Bromwell.

MONTECELLO CLUB OF SAN FRANCISCO.—W. W. McNair, Wm. M. Maguire, Col. Thos F. Barry.

WOODLAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—E. E. Gaddis, Hon. G. W. Pierce, J. H. Dugan.

LOWER FRUITVALE IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—M. S. Blackburn, A. B. Ingle, H. J. Atkinson.

SAN FRANCISCO SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION.—Kendrick C. Babcock, Wm. Dumar, Prof. Evans.

SAN FRANCISCO PAPER HANGERS, FRESCO PAINTERS.—L. F. Danforth, A. Logame, Alene Park.

SACRAMENTO, CAL., CIGARMAKERS' UNION NO. 238.—Michael Kelley, Charles H. Clear.

NEVADA CITY.—J. F. Colley.

SONOMA COUNTY BOARD OF TRADE.—F. E. Dowd.

MARINE COOKS AND STEWARDS' ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC.—C. J. Wardell, Wm. Ozard, Archie Long.

WEAVERVILLE, TRINITY COUNTY, MT. VALLEY PARLOR, N. S. G. W.—Robt. E. Cochran.

SAN JOSE MILLMEN'S UNION NO. 262.—Ed. White.

SISKIYOU, CAL.—L. F. Coburn.

SALINAS, CAL., AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.—A. B. Jamieson, J. D. Brower, J. H. Kaiser.

MARYSVILLE, CAL.—Hon. W. M. Cutter, Jas. K. O'Brien.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., STANFORD PARLOR NO. 76, N. S. G. W.—Jos. Greenberg, A. P. Giannini.

LOS ANGELES BOARD OF SUPERVISORS.—R. J. Adcock.

NATIVE SONS OF THE GOLDEN WEST.

SAN JOSE PARLOR NO. 22.—Martin J. Welsh, Chas. O'Connell.

BERKELEY PARLOR NO. 210.—Eugene Edwards.

SISKIYOU PARLOR NO. 188.—J. H. Byrne.

POMONA PARLOR NO. 109.—Lew E. Aubury.

EXCELSIOR PARLOR NO. 31.—Hon. R. C. Rust.

BAY CITY PARLOR NO. 104.—Sanford Figenbaum, L. H. Brownstone.

SACRAMENTO PARLOR NO. 3.—T. A. Cody, L. J. Goldin.

RINCON PARLOR NO. 72.—Thos. H. Vivian, Wm. J. Wynn.

PRECITA PARLOR NO. 187.—August Wehman.
GOLDEN GATE PARLOR NO. 28.—Percy V. Long, Fred H. Suhr.
OLYMPUS PARLOR NO. 189.—Andrew Mocker, Wm. J. Burns.
ELDORADO PARLOR NO. 52.—John J. Greeley, J. W. Keegan.
PALO ALTO PARLOR NO. 82.—Thos. Graham, J. L. Koppel.
MISSION PARLOR NO. 38.—D. B. Bowley, D. I. Troy.
PACIFIC PARLOR NO. 10.—S. V. Costello.
DOLORES PARLOR NO. 208.—Thos. E. Curran, G. W. Gerland.
NATIONAL PARLOR NO. 118.—G. E. Raubinger, James S. Fennell.
CALIFORNIA PARLOR NO. 1.—Henry F. Pernau.
SUNSET PARLOR NO. 26.—C. H. Oatman.
CONTINENTAL LEAGUE.—Otto Ryst, W. H. L. Barnes, Tirey L. Ford, Marshall B. Woodworth, C. D. Peixotto, Amos Currier.
EUREKA VALLEY IMPROVEMENT CLUB.—E. B. Carr, James Gordon.
HICKORY CLUB.—James W. Buchanan, James F. Walsh, Maurice J. Kirnan.
STATE OFFICERS.—J. H. Budd, J. C. Kirkpatrick, Hon. E. F. Treadwell, Hon. H. A. Bauer.
CALIFORNIA BROOM MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.—F. Zan, John P. Henry, John Taylor.
BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION OF SAN JOSE.—F. B. Wise.
WOMEN'S UNION LABEL LEAGUE.—Mrs. M. L. Rosenberg, Mrs. Villa D. Reynolds, Mrs. A. Sorensen.
MONTICELLO CLUB.—R. P. Troy.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Chinese Exclusion Convention.

Metropolitan Temple, Thursday, November 21, 1901.

The convention was called to order by Hon. James D. Phelan, Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, who was greeted with enthusiastic and long-continued applause.

A DELEGATE.—Before proceeding, I would like to ask as a request that the front seats in the gallery be given to the delegates, who have been at considerable expense to come here to this convention, in order that they may be seated.

MAYOR PHELAN.—Are there any delegates not seated? The delegates not seated will take positions on the stage. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF MAYOR JAMES D. PHELAN.

Fellow-Citizens of the State of California: It is my honor and duty as Mayor of the city, pursuant to a resolution of the Board of Supervisors, to call this convention to order. It is made up of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, of the officials of the State, of the counties, and of the cities of California, of the labor and trade organizations, and of civic societies. It is as called, in the judgment of the Board of Supervisors, a representative body of the people of the State, a body which, when it speaks, will be listened to with consideration and respect. California, with its 700 miles of sea board fronting on the Pacific and facing the Orient, is entitled to speak on this question for the people of the United States. (Applause.)

We speak on this question as experts. We have had a long familiarity with it, and I contend that only those who are ignorant of its true meaning and significance, would hesitate to endorse the position which California has always taken as the steadfast and patriotic opponent of the further immigration of Chinese coolies. (Applause.)

It has been said in the East, where a propaganda against the reenactment of the Exclusion Law has been carried on, that the sentiment of the country has changed; that even in California, where, by the way, the Chinese population, due to the beneficent efforts of exclusion, has fallen from 75,000, according to census returns, in the year 1890, to about 45,500 in 1900 (Applause), on account of reduced Chinese population and of the opening of the Pacific, by the victory of Dewey at Manila Bay (Applause), that our people have also changed their views. In other words, the proponents of Chinese immigration have taken advantage of the beneficent effects of the Exclusion Law, and of the patriotic interest we all have in the opening of the Pacific, too insidiously, guided by the Imperial Minister of China at Washington, Minister Wu, and the Imperial Chinese Consul-General at San Francisco, Ho Yow, to impress upon the minds of our Congressmen, and of our editors throughout that broad country east of the Mississippi, that it would be diplomatic, as well as serving the substantial interests of this country, by promoting a greater trade, to let the Exclusion Acts, which have been in force for twenty years, die by legal expiration. And when we, in San Francisco, observed that a systematic campaign was being made for the purpose of undoing all the work for which we had so long struggled, we deemed it necessary to call this convention; and I am sure that none of you will resent the fact that San Francisco, your commercial emporium, has taken the leadership in this matter. (Applause.)

San Francisco is a commercial emporium. It is like commerce, perhaps, when it comes to a matter of trade, unsentimental. It is sure, and it must impress itself upon the people of the East, that if there is any advantage in Chinese immigration, our merchants would not aggressively oppose it. If it brought commerce to our warehouses and to our marts, there would be a very considerable element of our population that would be active in the demand, which every commercial city must have for trade, and more trade. (Applause.)

Therefore, I say, when San Francisco takes a stand to-day, as it took twenty years ago, when, by a plebiscite or referendum, it was determined that 99 per cent. of the population were for exclusion, it must have the effect which we desire to make upon the minds of our brethren in the East.

We are the warders by the Golden Gate. We must stand here forever in the pathway of the Orient, and if there is any danger on the trial it is for us to sound the alarm. Hence our meeting here to-day. (Applause).

The only man who is in favor of Chinese immigration in this city, so far as I know, is he who believes that the laborer must be regarded simply by his capacity for work; who regards the amount of production as of more importance than the character of the population; and who, when told that the influx of unlimited Chinese immigration would overwhelm this country and destroy our civilization, will answer, "Well, that is a long time off, and after me the deluge." Such men take that narrow view, and we are here in a charitable spirit to enlighten their selfishness, to impress upon the people of the East the importance and gravity of this question, and to memorialize Congress. There will be read or delivered before you addresses by gentlemen who have carefully studied the various aspects of this question. But what of its commercial side, of which so much is feared? Why, our commerce with China has increased since 1880 when exclusion became effective, from $28,000,000, the total of our exports and our imports at that time, to over $38,000,000; and we stand second to Great Britain alone, according to the latest consular report in the volume of our trade with China. In spite of our exclusion policy, therefore, our commerce and trade have advanced, and our diplomatic relations have actually improved, because it was due to the magnanimity of this country that China was allowed to come out of the recent war with an undivided territory. (Applause.)

Now, in view of all those circumstances, I believe that great good will come from this convention, if the gentlemen who address you will confine themselves to facts and arguments. We have men here representing commerce and labor; we have them representing the field, the mine, and the orchard; we have them representing skilled and unskilled industry; but, above all, we have them here as American citizens, representing our American institutions. (Applause.)

I fain would take, for your information, a brief view of the several aspects of the question, because I regard it as a labor question; I regard it as a race question; I regard it as a national question; and, above and over all, a question involving the preservation of our civilization. But, in an opening address, that I will not do. But I cannot impress too strongly upon the convention the importance of bringing out, as will be done, these several views. But permit me to say a word for labor.

The operatives in the cotton mills at Shanghai are paid upon an average of 20 to 34 cents per day in silver, being from 10½ to 18 cents daily in gold, the workingmen boarding and lodging themselves. Agriculturists are paid $2.00 per month. This scale runs down the line in all the industries of China, showing the very low wages which are paid. We know in this country that the Chinese came here after the Burlingame Treaty and worked under contract for very low wages, but the scale has steadily advanced until they get now very nearly what is paid to white workingmen in the various industries in which both engage. That is because the Chinese population in California has diminished. It has gone down, due to the Exclusion Law and to the emigration of those people to other states. In New York in 1880 there were about 900 Chinamen; to-day there are 7,000. And so in the other States. California has made her contribution of Chinese to other States, and that is the only reason why she should suffer at the hands of their representatives. (Laughter.) But the Chinese are free to move, when once they come into this country, and they have, fortunately for us, marched against the path of empire.

Argument has been made that it is the productiveness which would come from the employment of the cheap labor that would give this country an economic edvantage in the markets of the world. That can be easily answered when we remember that the productive energy of the American people to-day is greater per capita than the productive energy of people of other countries (Applause); that machinery, which is due largely to American invention, has been the cause to a great extent of that productiveness; and that if we progress as we have progressed in the past, certainly we will have all we can do to take care of our surplus products, to prevent overproduction and stagnation.

There are in this country to-day, you know, about 76,000,000. If we increase at the rate of 12 per cent. per decade, which is reasonable, we will have nearly 230,000,000 of people in 100 years. Our inventive genius and constant improvements being made in machinery, due to the intelligence of our workingmen, will greatly, therefore, improve our per capita productive capacity. It will be our duty to increase our wealth, and to hold our own in the markets of the world. We certainly now are doing it, and no doubt will continue to do it, and at the same time preserve the character of our population.

It has been said that the South will vote against us on the question of Chinese immigration, on account of the racial difficulties there. But the people of the South have had its lesson of the race question, and will it inflict another race question upon the country? They are suffering also the consequences of that sin, it may be said, which has been transmitted to us, when the easy consciences of our forefathers permitted African slavery. Let us avert Chinese slavery. It may be regarded as a question of slavery, because the Chinese do not come voluntarily. They are slaves in every substantial meaning of that word, because they come here under contract. And it has been said that if the Six Chinese Companies of San Francisco should go out of business there would be no Chinese immigration. Those people do not move voluntarily. They are attached to their native land. The people of the East must be told this. They are resisting now, through immigration laws, the importation of a servile or an inferior race. From every country come men who are sent back from Castle Garden to the old land, because they come, if you please, under contracts, or are adjudged paupers. They on the Eastern Coast are struggling with a problem compared to which the Chinese question is of such overshadowing importance that when that view is presented they will certainly yield to our demand. (Applause.)

It would seem to me perfectly idle, were I not informed of the condition of the Eastern mind, to argue this question. But the newspaper reports during the last two months, from almost every center, bring editorial expressions which are inimical to the interests of the country on this question of Chinese immigration; and it is our duty to address ourselves politely, yet firmly, to the leaders of opinion, and create a public sentiment which will certainly reach the halls of Congress. One of the most potent instruments we have in this free country for creating a sound public sentiment is through such a convention as this, called here by official authority, and representing in its composition the best interests of the State of California—the State most familiar with the question and most exposed to its dangers. (Applause.)

It is now proper for this convention to effect a temporary organization. I may say that no arrangements have been made. There are many distinguished gentlemen, who have come from all parts of the State, who no doubt are eligible to service, and nominations will now be in order for temporary chairman.

DELEGATE HARRY RYAN, OF SAN JOSE.—I rise to place in nomination for temporary chairman of this convention the framer of the great Chinese Exclusion Act, Mr. Thomas J. Geary.

(Upon motion, duly seconded, the nominations were then closed, and Mr. Thomas J. Geary was elected temporary chairman of the convention by acclamation.))

THE CHAIRMAN.—I take pleasure in introducing to you your temporary chairman, ex-Congressman Thomas J. Geary, the author of the Exclusion Act. (Great applause.)

ADDRESS OF HON. THOMAS J. GEARY.

Fellow-Citizens of the State of California: I am deeply grateful to you for the honor you have bestowed upon me. It would be idle to attempt in words to thank you and show my appreciation. This convention, meeting at this peculiar time, is, to my mind, the most potent instrument that could have been chosen to manifest to the people of the East the fact that the story that California has changed her mind upon the question of Asiatic immigration is at least erroneous, if not absolutely false. Those people have been deceived who think we have undergone a change because for several years the State has been saved and free from the needless agitation of this question. This is not evidence that we have undergone a change of sentiment, but that we have appreciated that the evils we complained of were being remedied, and we were satisfied. California, through this convention, will tell the East that she is as loyal as ever to her laboring population (Applause), and that she has determined to protect them, not only by preventing the introduction of the products of the cheap man, but by preventing the introduction of the cheap man himself. (Applause.)

Out of the bitter experiences of the past, we know the lesson too well to need its repetition to us; but to our people in the East, providentially saved the experience that has been ours, we want to say that we shall repeat to them the lesson, that they may be warned in time to avoid the danger that we have been combatting for years. We owe it to those people that we shall place before them a fair, reasonable, candid, temperate statement of what we know about this race during the time it has sojourned in our midst. There is no room or place for abuse or vituperation. We must recognize conditions as we find them. Throughout the Eastern States we will find in many sections bitter opponents of this class of legislation, and those people honestly believe that they are right and we are wrong, and we must labor with them and convince them of their error before we can have their assistance and support. (Applause.)

We will find there organized combinations anxious to defeat exclusion from selfish motives. With them we can do nothing. But they, happily, represent but a small portion of the people of the Union, because I believe that throughout all sections of the East there is that careful regard for the rights of American labor that you need but show them that expression and they will rally to our support. (Applause.)

Our position on the Chinese question some of these people would represent as being purely common to California. There never was a greater error. Our experience has been the experience of every other portion of the earth where they have gone in numbers. Australia, all of the British possessions, have passed exclusion laws as we have. All of the republics to the south of us have complained about their presence.

In the same year that the Act that is now about to expire was passed, far away Brazil passed a law upon the same line. All classes of people, in all climes, have recognized the undesirability of the Asiatic as a citizen or a laborer.

We are not, in my opinion, going to have an easy contest, no matter how easy it may be made to appear now. We must prepare for the greatest battle, in my opinion, we ever had in order to preserve the advantages which we now possess, because changing conditions that have presented themselves during the past year give excuse for arguments that we will have to meet and combat. I have no fears but that the California delegation in Congress to-day is as effective and as earnest and will do as able work for their people as any delegation ever did in the past (Applause); but we must help. It is not fair to expect them to do it all. And on this convention will devolve the work of aiding our

CALIFORNIA STATE

representatives, so that success may be made certain. Last night over the wire came really the first promise of substantial assistance that we have ever received in this campaign—the promise that the distinguished President of the United States would recommend to Congress that the bars be not let down, but, if needs be, may be made higher. (Applause.)

The Mayor spoke about the commercial aspect of this difficulty which we must meet. I am not a pessimist in the matter of trade expansion, but from all the knowledge I have of the Chinese people and the Chinese industries I cannot unite with these people who think they see that in the future that China is to be a great market for American products. Before any people can be great customers they must have something to exchange, and at the present time, China, locked up in the conservatism of centuries, unwilling to develop her own material advantages, offers no market to the white people at all. (Applause.) But this argument will be used :That in order that our commerce may lend its sanction, we must make concessions to the Chinese people. In other words, for commerce we must barter the happiness and the welfare of the white American laborer. (Applause.)

Commerce at that price costs too much. We will have our share of the commerce of China, but we will get it without sacrificing the happiness or welfare of one single white American toiler in this land. Labor has no opposition to the expansion of commerce. No people in this country are more interested in enlarging the trade of the United States than the men who toil in the field and on the farm, in the factory and in the shop, creating the things which are to be the instruments commerce is to carry and exchange. (Applause.) Every market opened for the product of the American factory or farm is in increased advantage to the American day laborer engaged in his production. So when these people try to make us understand or believe that there must be an antagonism between labor and commerce, they mistake the fundamental principle that without labor there can be no commerce. (Applause.)

We have followed an industrial policy for many years which had as its tone the protection of American labor, in the firm belief that if protected long enough against the cheap products of cheap labor the world over, we would reach such a state of efficiency that even with paying better wages, with greater advantages to our labor, we would find so much greater productive ability that we could overcome the cheap products of cheaper lands. The industrial supremacy that we rightly claim to-day is the result of a policy which protected labor during all these years. This is not the day to change the industrial policy of the nation and sacrifice our labor for any purpose or any object. (Applause.) We will go on as we have commenced, until we become the commercial mistress of the world. We will load our ships in the ports of San Francisco and New York and many other places—ships built by American labor. We will load them to the hatches with the products of American looms and American factories and American farms, and we will send them out into the highways of the world, there to challenge the products of all other people, confident that in the superiority of our products. in the intelligence and integrity of our laborers, in the increased efficiency that manifests itself in the product, we can conquer all other people who oppose us industrially or otherwise. (Applause.)

Now, you are going to have a whole lot of speeches, and I don't like making speeches. (Cries of "Go on!") It is getting late and there are many other gentlemen to follow. I thank you again, gentlemen, for the honor you have conferred on me, and only hope to merit the confidence you have shown by selecting me to preside.

The next thing in the order of business, I presume, will be the nomination of a temporary secretary.

MR. LEAKE.—I nominate Mr. Mason for temporary secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Are there any other nominations?

MR. RYAN.—I wish to nominate a gentlemen, and before making the nomination, Mr. Chairman, I wish to make a little explanation, and that is, that we are a representative body of different classes of people in industrial life, and in order to have a representation upon the different committees, and also the different officers of this convention, I want to place in nomination a gentleman that represents one wing of the classes that are represented here, and that is a representative of the labor movement in general throughout the State of California. I wish to place in nomination the Secretary and Business Agent of the Building Trades Council of Santa Clara County, Mr. Charles P. Schaefer.

MR. LEAKE.—My only purpose in nominating Mr. Mason as secretary of this convention is because I know he has been engaged in the work, he is thoroughly familiar with it and knows what is expected of him. I am perfectly willing that there shall be as many secretaries as are deemed necessary to transact the business of this convention, and it seems to me that this matter might be settled, and settled very quickly, by the selection as assistant secretary of the gentleman named by my friend to the left here; but it seems to me we want a man as secretary who is thoroughly acquainted with the business, as Mr. Mason is, and he has had it in his hands for weeks, and therefore I shall insist on Mr. Mason.

A DELEGATE.—I move as an amendment that Mr. Mason be elected secretary and Mr. Schaefer be elected assistant secretary.

(Motion seconded and carried.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—What is the pleasure of the convention?

MR. JOHNSTON, of Napa.—I move that a committee on credentials,consisting of five delegates, be appointed by the Chair.

(The motion was duly seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—The motion before the house is that a committee of five on credentials be appointed.

DELEGATE MAX POPPER, of San Francisco.—I move as an amendment that we adopt the roll as prepared by the secretary.

DELEGATE ROSENBERG, San Francisco.—I am not in favor of the amendment. This is supposed to be a representative body. How many in this convention know anything about what the secretary has in his pocket? I stand for democracy and thorough representation, and I believe this whole matter should be handled by the convention. After the selection of a temporary secretary, a committe should be appointed on credentials, and then a committee on organization, after we have got a body here to work on.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The question is on the amendment, that the roll call prepared by the secretary be accepted as the roll call of the convention.

(The amendment was lost.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—The vote occurs on the original motion, that a committee of five be appointed on credentials.

(The motion was carried.)

MR. JOHNSTON.—I move that a committee of fifteen be appointed by the Chair on permanent organization and order of business.

(The motion was duly seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—Before putting that motion I will name the Committee on Credentials. I will appoint the following gentlemen upon that committee: G. A. Cutler, E. Rosenberg, C. O. Dunbar, Kirk Hall, E. J. Emmons .

MR. JOHNSTON.—Now, Mr. Chairman, I renew my motion that the Chair appoint a committee of fifteen on organization and order of business.

SEVERAL DELEGATES.—A point of order.

MR. LEAKE.—Some delegates contend that is out of order. It is not out of order. How are you going to organize unless you appoint a committee? The chairman always appoints such a committee.

THE CHAIRMAN.—There is no question that such has been the practice.

MR. LEAKE.—It has been the practice ever since I have known anything about conventions.

MR. BUDD.—I want to rise to a point of order. I want to know whether or not this convention must wait until the work of the Committee on Credentials is finished before the chairman can select a committee on permanent organization and order of business, and also as to whether or not the chairman will consider motions as to other business? I have never heard of conventions in which the committees were not appointed at the beginning of the convention, unless there was some contest for positions in the convention. Here there can be no contest. People are certified by labor unions, Supervisors, and by the cities themselves, and I ask for a ruling of the chairman as to whether or not the chairman entertained the motion made by the gentleman from Napa, Mr. Johnston, and the one made by myself formerly.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The practice has been in conventions, upon the temporary organization of the convention, that the committees would be appointed. This chairman has no predisposition in the matter. This convention can run this convention as it wants to. If the convention wants the committees named before the report of the Committee on Credentials, well and good. The motion of Mr. Johnston is that a committee of fifteen on order of business be appointed. The Chair will entertain that motion. How will that committee be appointed.

SEVERAL DELEGATES.—By the Chair.

(Motion carried.)

DELEGATE JAMES H. BUDD.—I will now move that the Chair appoint a committee on memorials, platform and resolutions, to consist of five from the State at large and three from each Congressional District. I believe that it is necessary in a committee of this kind to have all parties and all sections represented, and therefore I make it of this number.

A DELEGATE.—I rise to second the motion. I believe it just and expedient to attain the end we are striving for. There might be some objection on the part of some delegate. The chairman can use his own judgment as to the time when to appoint that committee, but unquestionably—I do not know what the Chair will do—but the Chair will wait for the report of the credential committee before appointing the most important committee, because this committee is going to be the most important committee of this convention, and I think the Chair should appoint it.

(Motion carried.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I will now introduce to you the senior Senator from California. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF HON. GEO. C. PERKINS.

Fellow-Citizens: Your chairman came to me and he said: "We are old friends, Perkins, and I am in a dilemma. I want you to say something to encourage me while I am selecting this very important committee," and having served in Congress with him, and knowing his genial, good-hearted nature, how could I do otherwise than favorably respond to his request. (Applause.) Yet, in doing so, I am very good to myself, because I have the pleasure of meeting here to-day so many representative citizens of this glorious State of California, coming from every county in our State, representing every industry—coming here without receiving any mileage, as your Congressmen—all of us receive—paying your expenses, because you are patriots, because you believe in California, because you believe in your home, and you are here to show by your voice that you believe in American institutions and the dignity of American labor. So it is to me a great pleasure and satisfaction to be present here to-day. It is not necessary for me to tell you how I stand upon this or any other public question that has been so long before the public as the Chinese Exclusion Act has. I was brought up in California, and I have always been on the side of the Caucasian race, because they are the best people God ever made. (Applause.) Therefore, if we are not true to ourselves, we are not true to our country and our homes.

Friends, this is not a political or a partisan question. I would like to give a name to this splendid assemblage of representative men, and I think the name that suggests itself to me is American Ideas of Government—American Ideas of Government. That means patriotism, means love of country, means love of republican institutions. It means that our forefathers, the grand citizens of this country, crushed out human slavery, and that no longer shall servile labor—contract labor, which is worse than slavery—come in here to compete with the dignity of labor. (Applause.) The American idea of government means the greatest good to the greatest number, and it means in this convention that we are opposed to the introduction of Asiatic and Mongolian labor because it pulls down and degrades the dignity of labor. It means that the Chinese are a non-assimilative race; that they come here to get what they can and go away with it; they have no families, no home; they do nothing to benefit our country, and therefore they are a disease upon the body politic, and we would not be true to ourselves and true to our country and our State if we did not take this action. I want to thank the authorities of this great city, this great metropolis of the West, for having inaugurated and adopted the plan of calling together these representatives of the people from every part of our State. Your representatives in Congress have only one vote, only one voice we can use there in presenting your wants to the people, and already there is an undercurrent coming to us that the extension of this Chinese Exclusion Act will not be smooth sailing for us.

There are great interests in this country. There are interests in the Hawaiian Islands that are crying out for servile contract labor, and it is our duty by this very act that you are doing here to-day to say, "No, you shall not come into this country to compete with free American labor." I have received any number of letters, even in California, and they have said, "Perkins, we are opposed to Chinese coming in"; and I want to say this parenthetically: They are not going to attack the Chinese Exclusion Act and advocate the incoming of Chinese into this country; they are going to move in an insidious, underhand way by saying, "No, we are not opposed to Chinese exclusion," but they say they will go back home; they say, "They come here as contract laborers, under contract with one of the Chinese Six Companies; they make a contract that they shall be taken back home again, and if they die here their bones will go back to China"; and so they say "let this all rest for two years and then they can come in; there will only be a very few here; they will come in and they will all go back again, and two years from now we will re-enact it." That is one of their plans. Another plan is, we will put the limit at 200,000 Chinese, and when it reaches that number no more shall come in; and then they will have another plan that will appeal to our Eastern friends who are friendly to us and who are opposed to Chinese immigration. It is the plan that is adopted by the Dominion of Canada and by British Columbia, which places a head tax of $100 upon every Chinaman coming into British Columbia or Canada, and prohibits any vessel from bringing any more than one Chinaman for every fifty tons of that vessel. That looks feasible—looks easy. How can that hurt us to bring in such a few Chinamen as would be brought in these vessels? Then we get a $100 tax. My friends, to-day the Japanese have one of the finest marine steamship companies afloat, and they are bringing immigrants from the Orient into British Columbia and will bring them by the score into California and the ports on the Atlantic Coast. There are Chiense building ships, and they will bring them here; and to-day there are American ships that are working Chinese in their fire-rooms as coal-passers, and in the steward's department, and paying them from $10.00 to $15.00 a month, which is the maximum sum, when our Americans, who have their families here, who have their homes here, who pay taxes here, are receiving for similar work from $35.00 to $50.00 a month. (Applause.) How can we compete against that class of labor? And so I want to say to this committee whom ex-Governor Budd has suggested very properly should be selected from the different Congressional Districts of our State, in their memorial that they take up and consider all these phases of this great question, and not be misled when a few orchardists, who have an individual interest, say: "Our fruit is going to decay because we cannot get labor to preserve it." Make it on the higher plane that we do not want cured or dried fruit put into the market and sold unless it is canned and cured by American boys or American labor. (Great applause.)

It is our people who pay the taxes, that have built up our splendid institutions, and I would permit no one to come into this country any more unless he felt, as he approached these shores, as Moses did when he approached the burning bush, that he stood on sacred ground, and that a voice came out of that bush from the American people speaking, "Unless you love freedom, unless you believe in republican institutions, unless you believe in free public schools, you cannot come into this country." (Great applause.) I want to carry this message back to my colleagues in Congress and say to them that the people to-day stand just where they did twenty years ago when they voted on this question. (Applause.) Then, as you know, the Legislature provided a referendum should be had, and they left it to the people to give expression on this question of Chinese immigration, and there were but 384 votes cast in favor of Chinese coming into this country and there were 154,638 votes cast against it. That is the sentiment of the people to-day.

The delegation in Congress stand shoulder to shoulder to carry out the wishes of the people of this great State, but we want your help. We want your co-operation, and I know the memorial and resolutions you adopt here to-day the electric wires will send on across the continent, and it will show our friends in the East that the people of the great Pacific Coast States are a unit on this question, and they are a power in the land, and they will say, "We can no longer hesitate, but we will stand in with them and re-enact this Chinese Exclusion Act." (Great applause.)

I will not weary you, my dear friends. We have our Congressmen and others who wish to speak. I want to say again and again to you that we are the same after election as we were before it. We said then we only wanted to be the servants of the people, to do that which would meet your approval, carry out your wishes, and if we do that, it is the highest encomium any one can receive—the approval of his fellow-citizens. (Great applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I will introduce to you Mr. A. Sbarboro, the president of the Manufacturers' and Producers' Association.

MR. SBARBORO.—Mr. President, members of the Convention: Once more we are called on to take measures to defend our State from the threatened Chinese invasion.

Every important county in California is here represented by delegates chosen from its legislative, commercial and industrial organizations. California is vitally in earnest over this question over Chinese exclusion, for California knows better than any other part of the country the seriousness of unrestricted Chinese immigration. The citizens of this State are determined that the blighting experience of the past shall not be repeated, if effort on our part can prevent it.

The Chinese began by coming to this country upon the discovery of gold in California with other people from all parts of the world. It was not long before it was found out that the Chinese were an undesirable race. I remember taking part in the formation of anti-Chinese clubs in every district of San Francisco as early as 1860. For thirty years this agitation against the admission of the Mongol was kept up and the people of the Pacific Coast, almost unanimously, appealed time and again to Congress for a relief from the inpouring of the Chinese to California. Finally Congress listened to our prayers and passed the Geary Exclusion bill, which, although it did not entirely keep out Chinese laborers, served to limit them to such a number as to modify the harm to our people. And let me say right here that the State of California owes Mr. Geary an unpaid debt of gratitude for the most valuable services which he rendered to the State and to the Pacific Coast. (Applause.)

The force of this bill will soon expire, and unless the next Congress re-enacts this measure, we will soon again be flooded by hordes of Chinese, a disaster of terrible menace to the peace, harmony and happiness of the people of California.

FIFTY YEARS' EXPERIENCE WITH THE CHINESE.

All the evils which caused the passage of the Geary bill exist today, and they exist more strongly than ten years ago. We have had now fifty years of experience with the Chinese among us. The more we know of them the more we see the necessity of excluding them from our shores. Other speakers will enumerate the many reasons why we object to Chinese immigration. Let me point out only a few of them: The Chinese, as has been proved by decades, take back with them to China all the property accumulations which they make in this country, and leave us only their vices and diseases.

They dwell among us in filth; they have made in the center of this fair city a district the very name of which is synonymous with disease, dirt and unlawful deeds. They defy our laws, they gamble in hundreds of barred dens, they make a business of murder, and they give us nothing but evil habits and noxious stenches.

CHINATOWN SHOULD BE REMOVED.

Dr. Williamson, in his annual report to the Board of Health, says that Chinatown should be removed. I fully agree with him. He says further: "Chinatown, as it is at present, cannot be rendered sanitary except by total obliteration. It should be depopulated, its buildings leveled by fire. and its tunnels and cellars laid bare. Its occupants should be colonized on some distant portion of the peninsula, where every building should be constructed under strict municipal regulation, and where every violation of the sanitary laws could at once be detected. The day has passed when a progressive city like San Francisco should feel compelled to tolerate in its midst a foreign community, perpetuated in filth, for the curiosity of tourists, the cupidity of lawyers, and the adoration of artists."

Dr. Williamson is an authority on these matters. He has devoted years and serious study to them.

The taxpayers of this city will soon be called upon to vote millions of dollars for schools, hospitals, sewers and other improvements. Gentlemen, there is no betterment that this city can procure, which is more an urgent necessity than the removal of Chinatown to the southern end of San Francisco. (Applause.)

COMMERCE WILL NOT SUFFER BY THE RE-ENACTMENT OF THE GEARY BILL.

We know the curse that the Chinese have brought among us, but, unfortunately, our fellow citizens residing east of the Rocky Mountains, not being inflicted with any large number of Chinese immigrants, do not understand the detriment that these Chinese laborers are to the country in which they settle, and therefore do not sympathize with our cause. It is owing to this lack of knowledge of the fact that we are in danger of losing the protection given to us by the Geary bill.

I understand that many of our Eastern merchants labor under the false impression that, by the renewal of the Exclusion bill, their trade with China will be materially decreased, or that its growth would be stunted. In answer to this argument, I have prepared a few statistics which I trust will convince this business element of the East of its error.

The Chinese minister, Wu Ting Fang, in a recent address made in Philadelphia, said:

"Since the opening of my country to foreign commerce fifty years ago, China's trade with the United States has been steadily increasing. Go back no further than 1891 (one year before the date of the passage of the Geary bill) you will find that the volume of trade has increased rapidly every year. Gratifying as these figures are, they will not stop here, but the commerce between America and China will continue to advance every year."

From the monthly summary of commerce of the United States, in the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, under date of June, 1901, we learn that the principal exports from the United States to China are drills, jeans, sheetings, flour and kerosene; that two of the largest imports into Hongkong are from the United States, namely, flour, 100 000 tons, which is an increase of 41,000 tons over the previous year, and kerosene 67,000 tons, which has held its own since 1890 against the determined attempts of Russia to capture the market with a cheaper and inferior article.

We further learn from the same authority that the imports from the United States to China in 1882 were $4,400,000. After 1882 there was no marked increase until 1891 and 1892 and thereafter, following the passage of the Geary Act.

In the year 1897 the value of the imports was $9,700,000, and in 1899 $16,000,000. In 1900, notwithstanding the heavy falling off, owing to the war, we exported $11,700,000 worth of goods, against an average of only one-half that amount previous to the passage of the Geary bill.

Certainly this showing should refute any assertion that the re-enactment of the Geary bill would interfere with the commerce between the United States and China. Gentlemen, as a business man, I am free to state my belief, that the merchant, be he from China or from any other part of the world, does not exist who will not purchase from the people of the country where he can obtain the best article at the lowest price, and who will not sell to the people of the country which will pay him the best price for his wares. (Applause.)

Furthermore, as we buy a great deal more from China than China buys from us, even if such a thing as sentiment in trade were possible, the Chinese merchants would still remain our customers, as they have far the best of the bargain.

I sincerely hope that our Eastern brethren will see that they have nothing to lose by aiding us in the passage of this bill. By helping us with it, they will not only advance their own interests, but they will cement still more strongly the bonds of friendship which now exist between the people of the East and the people residing on the border of the Great Pacific.

CALIFORNIA WANTS IMMIGRATION.

The State of California wants immigration. We need more people; here we can maintain 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 inhabitants, while we are barely 1,500,000 souls. But, gentlemen, we want people who will help to upbuild the States: no coolies, who are a detriment to every country they invade. (Applause.)

We want our countrymen from the East to come here among us and to enjoy the bountiful blessings which God has spread over this fair State. We want the Scotchman, who is full of enterprise, and who is as strong in his business integrity as the giant rocks of his Highlands. We want the Englishman, who brings with him capital, industry and enterprise; the Irish, who build and populate our cities (laughter); the Frenchman, with his vivacity and love of liberty and his keen knowledge to develop our viticultural industry; the Swiss freeman, who is supreme in butter and cheese making; the industrious and thrifty Italians, who cultivate the fruit, olives and vines, who come with poetry and music from the classic land of Virgil, and who bring to us the best from their native soil: we want the Teutonic race, patient and frugal, to develop the productions of our soil and the inexhaustible opportunities of our manufacturing industries. We want the Danes, the Swedes, the Slavs and the Belgians. We want all good people from all parts of Europe.

It is these immigrants and their children, with their diversified industries, who have made the United States in a remarkably short period of time the greatest and most prosperous country on the face of the globe. (Applause.)

WHO DEFENDS OUR FLAG?

To these, Mr. Chairman, we should never close our doors; for, although when the European immigrant lands at Castle Garden he may be uncouth, and with but little money, yet, soon by his thrift and industry, he improves his condition; he becomes a worthy citizen, and the children who bless him mingle with the children of those who came before him, and, when the country calls, they are always ready and willing to defend the flag, to follow the "stars and stripes" throughout the world. (Applause.)

Can you recall any battles in which the Chinese have raised their hands in defense of "Old Glory?" Can you point out examples of patriotic Mongols dying for the flag of our country? Did they rally in the ranks of the patriots who lowered Spain's pride?

No, they do not fight, except when with hatchet and revolver they lay low the members of their tongs who offend them.

CALIFORNIA'S LOYALTY.

Gentlemen, when our lamented President McKinley called for men to defend the flag of our country, the California boys were the first to answer the call and to bring that flag to victory in the Philippine Islands. Our San Francisco mechanics sent the Olympia to destroy the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay, and they sent the Oregon to wipe out of the ocean the "Grand Armada" of Spain at Santiago de Cuba. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, members of this convention, the good people of the State of California, at the election last year, gave their enthusiastic approval to the Republican administration, by voting for the protection doctrine of late beloved President McKinley. Now, in return, we most earnestly pray, nay, we demand, that the present administration and every representative in Congress, do protect California and the

Pacific Coast from this threatened disaster of Chinese invasion. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—The Committee on Credentials is ready to report through its chairman, Mr. G. A. Cutler.

Mr. G. A. Cutler, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, then read the report of said Committee as follows:

Your committee finds there are some 3,000 properly accredited delegates to this convention, but it will consume the entire afternoon to read the names. The Committee therefore recommends that all properly accredited delegates who have their credentials which have been presented to the Secretary, shall be admitted as delegates to this Convention.

On motion, duly seconded, the report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The secretary has received a number of letters and telegrams which he will now read to the convention.

THE SECRETARY.—The following letters have been handed to the secretary during the session of the convention. (Reads.)

Helena, Montana, November 20, 1901.

HON. JAMES D. PHELAN, Mayor,
San Francisco, Cal.

Regret I cannot attend. Hope your convention will exert every effort to accomplish its purpose.

J. E. TOOLE, Governor.

Salem, Oregon, November 20, 1901.

HON. JAMES D. PHELAN,
San Francisco, Cal.

Sorry I cannot attend the Chinese Exclusion Convention, but you may assure the people of San Francisco that the sentiment in Oregon is practically unanimous in demanding the re-enactment of that or some similar law. The interests of our laboring men and, therefore, of our people generally require it.

T. T. GEER, Governor.

Washington, D. C., November 21, 1901.

CALIFORNIA ANTI-CHINESE CONVENTION,
Metropolitan Temple, San Francisco.

The American Federation of Labor extends greetings and hopes your deliberations may result in protecting your fair State and sustain our common country from the blighting curse of Mongolianism. We welcome your co-operation and shall be pleased to know of your proceedings.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
HERMAN GUTSTADT.

Ogden, Utah, November 21, 1901.

H. A. MASON,
Secretary Chinese Exclusion Convention.

Greeting to the delegates to the Chinese Exclusion Convention. From the hour of my arrival at Washington I shall work incessantly for the re-enactment of the Geary Exclusion laws and feel confident of ultimate victory.

JULIUS KAHN.

Olympia, Washington, November 20, 1901.

MAYOR JAMES D. PHELAN,
San Francisco, Cal.

Telegram received inviting me to attend Chinese Exclusion Convention. It will be impossible for me to attend. I desire, however, to say that the almost universal sentiment of the people of the State of Washington is strongly in favor of Chinese exclusion. We shall regard it a disaster of the first magnitude if Chinese exclusion is not continued and enforced by Congress. The people of the State are aroused regarding this matter, and I wish in the strongest possible terms to say to the convention that all true Americans who love their country should assist with might and main in this laudable and absolutely necessary effort.

J. R. ROGERS, Governor of Washington.

Carson, Nev., November 20, 1901.

MAYOR JAMES D. PHELAN.

The greatest evil portending the people of the United States is the free admission of Chinese. Accustomed as they are to the very lowest and most degrading and repulsive methods of sustaining life, their admission here will, by competition and force of numbers, scourge our respected and self-respecting laboring people down to the Chinese level of misery. I am in favor of excluding them forever.

REINHOLD SADLER, Governor of Nevada.

Los Angeles, Cal., November 16, 1901.

HON. JAMES D. PHELAN,
Chairman Special Committee on Arrangements of the Chinese Exclusion Convention,
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir—Your esteemed letter of date November 8th, inviting me to be present at the Chinese Exclusion Convention, to be held at the City of San Francisco on the 21st instant, at hand.

While I profoundly sympathize with the objects of the convention, and shall be most happy to further its worthy purposes in any manner within my power, I regret to state it will be impossible to be present on the occasion referred to on account of long standing previous arrangements.

However, my public utterances have so often been made in favor of Chinese exclusion, and my views in regard thereto I believe are so well known throughout the State that my enforced absence at this time from the convention will, I am sure, make no considerable difference. Nevertheless, it may not be out of place to here recall the circumstance that I was so greatly impressed with the necessities of the situation and so anxious that appropriate action shold be taken in reference to the exclusion of certain subjects of both China and Japan, that in my first biennial message to the Legislature of this State, at pages 6 and 7 thereof, I called attention thereto and said:

"NECESSITY FOR THE EXCLUSION OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE LABORERS.

"The people of California, from their experience in the past, and in view of their prominent sea-coast position with respect to the ports of the Orient, have reason to dread the immigration of Chinese and

Japanese laborers into this State, a fear justly founded and shared in by the American workmen of other States. It is essential, therefore, that American labor shall be protected against competing Mongolian labor. Our tariff laws, while protecting the products of labor, require as a supplement the exclusion of Chinese and Japanese laborers.

"The party, both National and State, which has nominated the majority of your honorable bodies, is pledged to the protection of American labor, and I am satisfied that our great President is wholly in sympathy with every measure, and is determined to maintain American labor at its high standard of skill and intelligence, and to assist in the making of all treaties and the approval of laws which will protect that labor from foreign competition.

"On May 5. 1892, an Act of Congress, entitled 'An Act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," was approved, which Act was, in addition to previous Acts of Congress, intended to more effectually exclude the immigration of Chinese laborers. By the terms of this Act the law is continued in force for the term of ten years from its passage, so that Act will expire in May next year (1902).

"A convention governing the subject of immigration between the United States of America and the Empire of China was concluded and signed by the respective plenipotentiaries at the City of Washington, D. C., on March 17, 1894, and ratifications exchanged at the same city on December 7, 1894, by the terms of which convention, among other things, China agreed to the exclusion from the United States of further Chinese laborers, and also assented in direct terms to the enforcement of the provisions of the Act of Congress of May 5, 1892, as amended by an Act approved November 3, 1893.

"By Article VI of this Convention it is provided as follows:

" 'This Convention shall remain in force for a period of ten years, beginning with the date of the exchange of ratifications, and if six months before the expiration of said period of ten years neither government shall have formally given notice of its final termination to the other, it shall remain in force for another like period of ten years.'

"It will be perceived from the above language of Article VI that the Convention is terminable by either of the nations, provided six months' notice be given before the expiration of ten years, so that in December, 1904, there is a possibility of this Convention being terminated by the action of China. But there is another feature of the Convention which may require action on the part of the United States before the expiration of the period limited which might require a revision of its terms.

"Article I of the said Convention reads as follows:

" 'The High Contracting Parties agree that for a period of ten years, beginning with the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Convention, the coming, excepting under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States shall be absolutely prohibited.'

"Since December 7, 1894, the date of the exchange of ratifications, we have acquired additional territory, both by annexation and war. Questions of the rights and privileges of subjects of China, while in the Philippines and the other islands acquired from Spain, may arise, and contentions by the Chinese diplomats are possible, that inasmuch as the contracting parties had not in view future territory, conquered or acquired by the United States of America, but only the United States as then bounded and known, and that when the United States assumed the sovereignty which Spain abdicated in its favor, this republic took that territory subject to the obligations which Spain owed to the Empire of China. Whether this possible plea be specious or not, it at least might pave the way for international discussion. To avoid all questions, therefore, Acts of Congress are necessary to be passed in order to afford protection to American labor, and the Convention with China should be so revised as to cover beyond all question every part of the territory of the United States.

"The peril from Chinese labor finds a similar danger in the unrestricted importation of Japanese laborers. The cheapness of that labor is likewise a menace to American labor, and a new treaty with Japan for such restriction. as well as the passage of laws by Congress, is desired for the protection of Americans. I therefore most earnestly appeal to your Honorable bodies for the passage, as a matter of urgency, of appropriate resolutions instructing our Senators and requesting our representatives in Congress for the immediate institution of all proper measures leading to the revision of the existing treaties with China and Japan, and the passage of all necessary laws and resolutions for the protection of American labor against the immigration of Oriental laborers."

Pursuant to the aforesaid suggestion a joint resolution was adopted by the Legislature of this State and duly forwarded to California's representatives in Congress.

I am much pleased, therefore, to know that the convention will assemble in your city for the contemplated good work, and feel that its labors can but result in great good to the State within which we live, as well as to our common country.

Please, therefore, be good enough to inform the assembly of this response to this much appreciated invitation.

Respectfully yours,
HENRY T. GAGE, Governor

Washington, D. C., Nov. 21, 1901.

HON. JAMES D. PHELAN,
San Francisco, Calif.

I have seen President. Have best authority for saying that he will not only recommend in his message the re-enactment of the Geary law, but will go further and urge that it be made stronger.

J. C. NEEDHAM.

(The reading of each of the foregoing letters and telegrams was greeted by the Convention with applause.)

DELEGATE W. P. JOHNSON.—I make a motion that this convention send a telegram to the President of the United States thanking him for his hearty co-operation.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

A DELEGATE.—I move you that the convention take a recess for half an hour, so as to give the chairman an opportunity to appoint the committees. (Cries of No, No.)

A DELEGATE.—There is no motion before the house, I believe. I will make a motion that the temporary officers of this convention be made permanent.

(The motion was duly seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—The motion is out of order. There is a motion to appoint a committee. Gentlemen, I think we better take a recess for a few moments.

A DELEGATE.—Why would it not be better to listen to the speeches that are to be made here?

DELEGATE EDWARD ROSENBERG.—With all due respect to the motion that has been declared out of order, I will suggest this: The highest duty that this convention owes to itself is to prepare a conservative, temperate, proper memorial, and that memorial's contents and sense will be determined by the committee. Now, I believe that half an hour is not too long a time for the chairman to select the proper timber to memoralize Congress by and through.

I therefore move that we adjourn for one-half hour for the purpose of the chairman selecting a committee for the proper memorializing of Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I will take a recess for the purpose by myself; and I will now take pleasure in introducing to you the Congressman from the First Congressional District, Hon. Frank Coombs.

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN COOMBS.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention.—I congratulate you upon assembling in order that you may make manifest through your voice the sentiment of the people of the Pacific Coast, and I hope that it will re-echo the sentiment of the people of the United States upon the Chinese question. As I understand it, it is because we have thought there might prevail in the East some idea or suspicion that the people of this country were not united as they were ten years ago. We have called together this convention, and it is your office now, echoing the voice and sentiment, and the majesty of the people of this State, to send in clarion tones to the Capital of the nation your protest, as it was your protest of old, against the admission of the Chinese further into the State of California and into the Union.

I have read in the papers, and heard here discussed to-day, the question of commerce. It has been held forth that a restriction of Chinese might operate to the disadvantage of the development of the great commerce for which the grand Pacific opens up this splendid and glorious future. Upon that subject I desire to say it seems to me, and it has always seemed to me, that the question of human slavery as evidenced by the slave trade in the Chinese in the past, does not tend to promote, nor does it tend to hold back, commerce and its development. It is regulated by an entirely different proposition, by an entirely different motive, by entirely different international communications and privileges. Yet, above all, my fellow citizens, it is to be found in the treaties that this country has consummated with other nations, that America has always preserved what is known as the "favored nation" clause. And our privileges at the courts of the Orient are not dependent upon the question as to how many of them, or whether they shall at all come here. But we are entitled now, under the "favored nation" clause to whatever privilege, to whatever may be done or said, to all that is given or proposed to be given to every "favored nation" in the world, and all of those privileges extended to the treaties which may be consummated in the future. So that to-day, should England or

Austria or Germany or Russia, or any of those nations known as and enumerated among the great powers, consummate a treaty with China giving especial privileges to their citizens, the United States under the "favored nation" clause would stand upon exactly the same plane, as we as citizens would be entitled to all of those amenities. So that it appears to me that disposes entirely of the question as to whether commerce can be regulated with reference to the conduct of this people and this nation, when they, clothed in their solemn majesty, seek to protect themselves, their industries, their magnificent achievements and their labor.

Sometimes we look upon this proposition with disheartenment. We read stories in the newspapers as to the standing of the people of the East. But when I came here to-day I heard the echo of a voice far distant in the East. It gave me heart and hope. And I know that whatever you wish there will be a response in the Executive Chair of the Nation. (Applause.)

And mind you, it is the voice, I verily believe of the great Empire State of the nation. It is the voice of New York. And I think that she, too, will stand in solemn phalanx supporting the Chief Magistrate of this country.

There is Massachusetts. It is true that her senior Senator does not regard our ideas as he should. Perhaps his prejudices may not be overcome, but let us lodge our hope in the junior Senator of that State.

Look to the South. Look to the West. Look everywhere over this broad country of ours, and it is my firm hope and belief that all over there will arise the sound of the voice of the artisan, the toiler in the field, the voice of this great majestic empire, at and through its thousand achievements, representing the people of the Pacific Coast, who are most threatened by the disasters of the Orient.

In some ways our fortune is our misfortune. We are here looking out upon the seas. On the opposite side is a shore line. Along its course and in the interior are four hundred million of Chinamen. It is the oldest empire in the world now, as it stands. It may be that a way back in the distant time she had Ambassadors at the Court of Ramaeses, when Moses left the Land of Egypt. All through for centuries she has preserved her traditions, her prejudices, and even we find now that she has builded a wall up around her, and I say that if that wall is sufficient to keep us out, it should be sufficient to keep them in. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, there is nothing I can say to you with reference to your delegation in Congress. I believe that they will be true and loyal to the cause of the American people, to the industries of this great country. There is no danger but that your delegation will support you. They will work honestly and truly, and I believe that of all the momentous questions which shall arise in Congress this winter, the dealing with the Philippines, the building of the Nicaragua Canal, the multitudinous questions which spring up in a new and growing nation, yet above and beyond them all, with us and with the country, there eminently stands the re-enactment of an Exclusion Law. (Applause.)

And while your committees here will do their duty, yet I would suggest to them that they place no riders upon the bill. Place no riders upon your sentiment to-day. Let it be direct and certain with reference to one point—with reference to the re-enactment of an exclusion law. And let the echo of your voices go out upon that one ques tion, even like unto the reverberations of old of the cyclops hammer upon the shield of Mars. Then you will have done your duty. You will have added glory to the cause. You will have enlightened the people, and you will have nothing else to detract from it. Let it appear as your magnificent and your majestic purpose, and without race prejudice. Make it a part of the theory of Western government. Identify it with the growing conditions of this great Western empire. And make the people know wherever they can hear our voice that we understand the theories of government; that we, too, are reared in the traditions of our country. Magnificent, sovereign-like, majestic, let it pour out in a volume upon the East, and your delegation in Congress will do its duty. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I think it would facilitate business to take a recess at this time. Most of these delegates are new to me, and it is different from the ordinary political convention, where the delegates are known in the different districts. These resolutions require that committeemen shall be appointed from the different Congressional Districts. I would like to have the delegates present from these districts to name the gentlemen they would prefer to represent them on these committees. I would rather there would be a recess for half an hour to do that. I think it would facilitate business.

On motion, duly seconded, a recess for half an hour was then taken.

On reconvening, the proceedings were resumed as follows:

THE CHAIRMAN.—The secretary will read to the convention the names of the delegates who have been selected to act upon the committees.

THE SECRETARY.—The following gentlemen have been appointed as the Committee on Permanent Organization and Permanent Business:

F. E. Johnson, Charles W. Reed, E. Rosenberg, M. Popper, J. C. Sims, Ed. Wolf, C. R. Stewart, F. Ey, J. Walker, George R. Fletcher, E. E. McKinley, R. T. McIvor, E. Crowell, J. Steiff, Edward McCable. (Applause.)

The following gentlemen have been appointed as the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions:

At Large—Senator John F. Davis, Mayor James D. Phelan, W. Macarthur, Senator Smith (of Kern). A. C. Caminetti.

First District—Frank Wehe, J. D. Conolly, F. H. Angelotti.

Second District—P. T. Johnston (of Sacramento), W. W. Middlecoff, James Devine.

Third District—L. B. Leavitt, Alden Anderson, Edward Leake.

Fourth District—M. Casey, Samuel Braunhart, Guy Lathrop.

Fifth District—H. Ryan (San Jose), H. G. W. Dinkelspiel, W. H. Cannon.

Sixth District—George W. Hughes, Senator R. N. Bulla, Mayor M. P. Snyder.

Seventh District—T. B. Eckels, Victor Montgomery, J. H. Glass.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The committees will meet immediately after the adjournment of the convention.

DELEGATE LAWRENCE J. DWYER.—I move that when this convention adjourns it adjourn until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, in order that the different committees may be enabled to have their final report ready at that time.

The motion was duly seconded.

A DELEGATE.—I desire to offer an amendment to the effect that when we adjourn we adjourn until 7:30 o'clock this evening.

The amendment was duly seconded.

DELEGATE ROSENBERG.—I hope that the amendment will not prevail, as by half past seven o'clock to-night the committees would not be able to make their reports. The committees will, no doubt, be ready, however, to report by 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The Chair then put the amendment, which was lost. The question upon the original motion was then put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I desire to announce that to-morrow morning Gen. W. H. L. Barnes will address the convention.

On motion, duly seconded, the convention adjourned until Friday, November 22, 1901, at 10 o'clock A. M.

FRIDAY, November 22d, 1901.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Geary.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The Committee on Permanent Organization and Order of Business is ready to report. The secretary will read the report of the committee.

The secretary read the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization and Order of Business as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. Chairman: Your Committee on Permanent Organization and Order of Business respectfully submits the following report:

First. We recommend that the temporary Chairman, Hon. Thomas J. Geary, be continued as the permanent chairman of this convention.

Second. We recommend that the following named gentlemen be selected by this convention to act as Vice-Chairmen thereof, namely, James H. Barry, C. A. Storke, H. Rodgers.

Third. We recommend that H. A. Mason, the temporary Secretary of this convention, be continued as the permanent Secretary thereof, with the following named assistants: Charles Shaefer, T. F. Egan, C. D. Rogers and J. McLaughlin.

Fourth. That the committee consisting of five members at large, and three members from each Congressional District in this State, heretofore appointed by the Chair as a Committee on Memorial and Resolutions, with the Chairman of this convention added thereto, with power to increase their number, if in their judgment they should deem the same necessary and fill all vacancies, be continued a permanent committee to take such action as in their judgment may be necessary to aid in the passage of a Chinese Exclusion Act.

And upon the order of business we recommend to this convention the following:

First. The report of the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions.

Second. Addresses by invited speakers.

Third. All resolutions to be referred without debate to the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions.

Fourth. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,
F. E. JOHNSTON,
For the Committee.

On motion, duly seconded, the report was received and concurred in.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Is the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions ready to report?

THE SECRETARY.—The Committee on Memorial and Resolutions will not be ready to report until this afternoon.

(On motion, duly seconded, the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions was granted further time.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—While waiting for that report the convention will listen to an address by Mr. D. E. McKinlay, of the United States District Attorney's office. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF D. E. McKINLAY.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I apprehend that the invitation extended by the managers of this convention, to the United States Attorney's office, to participate in these proceedings arose from a desire on the part of the managers to place before the convention the data and the information which that office could furnish concerning the practical operation of the Chinese Exclusion Laws.

As to the desirability of the re-enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Laws there can be no question. This great convention, composed of delegates from every part of our commonwealth of California, delegates representing every form of industry, every profession, trade and business, this convention itself, I say, voices in most eloquent terms the unanimity of sentiment which prevails throughout all our State, among every class of our citizens, concerning the absolute necessity for the re-enactment of laws which shall exclude, in the future—even more effectively than they have excluded in the past—Chinese and other Asiatic people from our State and nation. (Applause.)

I need not expatiate upon the evils of Asiatic immigration to our shores. All who have eyes may see the blighting, corrupting influence which the Orientals have had on our business interests and our commerce; how they have degraded our labor—for American labor can never compete in the same market with Asiatic labor and maintain for one moment its dignity and self-respect—how the presence of Orientals in our city and State, with their degraded habits and practices, has poisoned the pure springs of morality and religion, and corrupted by its evil influence all our social life. (Applause.)

All these subjects will be dwelt upon by eloquent, earnest, thoughtful speakers, and as a result of the work of this convention, resolutions will be passed and measures will be suggested which will be a sure guide to our delegates in Congress concerning the form of legislation demanded by the Pacific Coast for the protection of its future.

Gentlemen, the United States District Attorney's office has had, in one sense of the word, as much to do with the practical workings of the Chinese Exclusion Laws as any other department of the Government, for since the passage of the law of May 6th, 1882 (the first Act of Congress excluding the Chinese), every crack and cranny of the laws has been probed by skillful lawyers in the pay of the Chinese to widen, if possible, the aperture so that a Chinaman might crawl through; every link in the chain which guarded us has been tested and strained to the utmost in the hope that one link would break; every point, every quibble known to the law has been raised in our courts, in behalf of the Chinese by the best legal talent of California, to distort the plain intention of Congress, and find some means by which exclusion might be evaded. And in the United States District Attorney's office in all the years since 1882, the duty has devolved of guarding in the United States Courts the legal rights of Americans. The experience of that office after its twenty years of continual warfare against the persistent effort of the Asiatics to enter despite the exclusion laws, must be worth something to this convention. (Applause.)

At this time it is unnecessary to attempt to explain the provisions of the laws passed by Congress for the exclusion of the Chinese. Commencing with that of May 6th, 1882, each law passed, as time went on—that is, the law of July 5th, 1884; of September 13th, 1888; the supplement to the law of May 6th, 1882, passed October 1st, 1888; the so-called Geary Act of May 5th, 1892, and the Act of November 3d, 1893—was drawn more strictly and more in conformity with strict exclusion principles than the one which preceded it. The Geary Act, or the law of May 5th, 1892, continued in force and effect all laws excluding Chinese upon the Statute books at that time, and in addition, the principal provision of the Geary law required the registration of all Chinese in the country, whereby they might be identified as those who had a right to be and remain in America under the former laws.

The Geary Act continued in force the exclusion laws for ten years after its passage, so that by the terms of this Act all Chinese exclusion laws will expire on May 5, 1902. So the question before us to-day is not what the old law was; what its merits or demerits were, its strength or its weakness, but what the new law shall be. The purpose of this convention is to consider how a new exclusion law may be framed so as to avoid the weakness and defects of the old laws, and place upon the statute books of the nation an absolute barrier against Chinese and other Asiatic immigration.

Fortunately California is blest at this time with nine able, honest and earnest Congressmen and Senators, any one of whom is perfectly capable of framing a bill that will meet all the requirements of our necessities; but still it will be a source of strength and power to them to know that the whole State is behind them and with them, giving encouragement in the battle whose brunt will fall upon them when they meet in Washington the coming winter. (Applause.)

It is the opinion of the United States District Attorney's office that the provisions of the Geary law should be substantially re-enacted in the new measures. Of course, ten years of the operation of the Geary law have demonstrated that improvements must be made; ten years of effort on the part of the Chinese to break through that law have shown that there are places in it that must be strengthened, and loop-holes that must be closed, in order that a perfect exclusion law shall be placed on the statute books of the nation. (Applause.)

For instance, it is suggested that the Bureau of Immigration of the Treasury Department should be made the original judge of the eligibility of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent, to enter the

United States, and that such Bureaus be authorized to make all necessary regulations to enforce the administration of such laws.

This, of course, would not affect the rights of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent, claiming to have been born within the United States.

An appeal from the decision of the Immigration or Chinese officer should be permitted to the Secretary of the Treasury. The decision of the Immigration or Custom officer should be final, unless reversed by appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury.

If that provision should become a part of the new law, its terms should be especially clear and strong and unambiguous, for a great question is now before the Federal Courts of this city for a decision. It is the question of the rights of Chinese in transit through the country. Of late Chinese have been coming in large numbers, en route to Mexico. Of course, under the laws as they are, the transportation to carry the Chinese persons en route safely through, and guard against their escapes while in the United States, but once over the Mexican line, all responsibility on the part of the transportation company ceases, and the Chinaman at once leaves the train on Mexican soil, learns a little of our language and customs, and some dark night, aided by white men who are in the business of assisting Chinese to evade exclusion, he quietly slips across the border and becomes a good American Chinaman. (Laughter and applause.))

The Collectors of the ports of entry should have the power of ruling whether the Chinese in transit are bona fide travelers en route, or whether they are merely entering the United States, to cross to the nearest point in foreign territory, there to leave the railroad or vessel, and return.

The point is this: If the collector has reason to suspect that the real purpose of the Chinaman is to ultimately work his way into the United States, he should be empowered to refuse a landing in the first instance, and his ruling should be final, unless the best of evidence be given to show the contrary. Of course, in this class of cases an appeal should be given to the Secretary of the Treasury. but pending the appeal, the Chinaman should be held without bonds. (Applause.)

This is an important phase of the Chinese problem. Mexico is becoming more quiet along the border; the turbulent Indian tribes are being well controlled by both American and Mexican governments, and it is now safe for the Chinese to use that route and method in reaching their desired goal, while it was dangerous and difficult but just a few years ago.

It is reported on good authority that a company of Chinese merchants and Americans interested in the importation of Chinese, has been formed in San Francisco for the purpose of establishing and building up a colony of one million Chinese on the border of Mexico. The principal business of that colony will be to work its members over the American border.

Again: United States Commissioners should be vested with plenary jurisdiction to determine the status of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent within the United States, whether the charge be that of having unlawfully and fraudulently entered the United States, or of having failed to register while in the United States, as required by law.

The laws on this subject are, if not open to question, at least debatable.

There are at least four or five enactments which vest United States Commissioners with jurisdiction to order the deportation of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent found to be unlawfully within the United States.

There is considerable question whether Section 13 of the Act of September 13, 1888, ever became a law, and it is under that section that United States Commissioners as a rule proceed originally with reference to deportation proceedings, and that an appeal by a Chinese person is allowed to the United States District Court.

Certain verbiage used in Section 6 of the Act of May 5, 1892, as amended by the Act of November 3d, 1893, would afford some ground for the argument that the status of Chinese persons charged with being unlawfully within the United States, by reason of their failure to register, should be tried originally and exclusively by a United States Judge, meaning thereby, a Judge of the United States Court.

The tendency of the courts has been to give the United States Commissioners full and plenary jurisdiction of all cases relating to the unlawful status of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent, irrespective of whether that unlawful status was brought about by an original and unlawful entry into the United States, or the original entry being lawful, was afterwards rendered unlawful by failure to register, as required by law.

There should be in the new Chinese Exclusion Law a particular enactment giving United States Commissioners full and unquestioned jurisdiction in determining the status of all Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent within the United States.

Furthermore, a very necessary amendment to the law would be that granting an appeal by the United States. As the law stands at present, the Chinese person only is allowed an appeal. The United States has no remedy by appeal.

The new law should further provide that with reference to habeas corpus proceedings no bail should be allowed. This is a very salutary provision. It tends to expedite the action of persons suing out writs of habeas corpus; otherwise, as it has occurred in the past, the Chinese will sue out writs of habeas corpus, and obtain protracted delays; meanwhile earning a livelihood in the country.

It is also suggested that a new registration of all Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent within the United States should be provided for.

Since the last registration law of May 5, 1892, as amended by that of November 3, 1893, under which the period of registration expired on May 4, 1894, now nearly seven years ago, a great many Chinese have, by eluding the vigilance of officers, fraudulently and unlawfully entered the confines of the United States, and are now within the country as laborers.

And again, the penal laws relating to the enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion and Registration Acts should be somewhat reformed and rendered more effective.

For instance, it is made an offense to aid and abet the landing of Chinese. The courts have held, under the peculiar phraseology of the present law, that unless the landing of a Chinaman be successful, the offense is not consummated. The law should be so amended that an attempt to aid or abet the landing of Chinese persons, whether successful or not, should be made an offense. (Applause.)

The laws with reference to the taking of oaths and authorizing Customs officers and others to administer oaths, should be improved upon so that prosecutions for perjury might be had. (Applause.)

Some suggestion has also been made that a Chinese laborer should be permitted to bring over his wife. This is an exceedingly embarassing question, for the reason that it would be made the means of a great deal of fraud; that is, under the guise of bringing women over as wives, many women would be brought over for immoral purposes.

The statute directed toward the deportation of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent (not citizens of the United States), who have been convicted of crimes, should be so amended as to include those who are hereafter convicted of a felony, as well as those who have been previously convicted thereof. As the law at present stands, only those who are convicted of a felony by the Act of May 5, 1892, could be deported.

In habeas corpus proceedings, where the Chinese person claims to have been born in the United States, the widest discretion should be given the judge or commissioner in his rulings on the credibility of witnesses and the admission of evidence. (Applause.)

To illustrate this, take the proceedings in the Commissioner's Court almost any morning. A Chinaman is before the Commissioner on a writ of habeas corpus: his attorneys claim that he was born in the United States; the Chinaman does not claim it; he doesn't know enough about the language or customs to claim anything; but nevertheless any number of Chinese can be found who will testify they knew the applicant's father and mother twenty or twenty-five years ago; that applicant was born at 710 Dupont street on the third floor in room No. 13; there have been 7,000 born in that house and on that floor; that when the boy was two years old, he was taken to China by his mother to be educated; that he has lived in China ever since that time; that now his mother is dead and his father is dead, and he wants to come back to his native America to take care of the business of his old uncle or cousin—and the uncle or cousin is there to swear to it.

So common is this story, and so well is it learned, and so carefully is it presented in evidence in the courts, that one of the Federal Judges estimated that if the story were true, every Chinese woman who was in the United States twenty-five years ago must have had at least 500 children. (Laughter.)

Therefore, the new law should give the United States Commissioners the widest range in admitting Chinese testimony. The newspapers of this city have paid a great deal of attention lately to the question of woman slavery, and the public has come to know through the efforts of the press, that here in this free land, in the City of San Francisco, under the very shadow of the flag that is the hope, the inspiration, and the glory of all who love liberty and rejoice in freedom, human chattels are bought and sold, bartered and exchanged—yes, in the very market place. And there is no Federal law on the statute books to reach and remedy this evil; and so the new Chinese Exclusion Law must be framed to wipe out the last vestige of slavery on American soil. (Applause.)

To learn this may astonish many, but it is a fact nevertheless. At present there is no law relating to the question of slavery, unless it relates to negroes, mulattoes or foreigners; therefore, with reference to Chinese slave girls who claim to have been born in the United States, there is no penal statute by which their owners can be prosecuted. All that can be done in attempting to break up the involuntary servitude of Chinese girls held for immoral purposes is to arrest the unfortunates on the charge that they are unlawfully in the United States, and deport them, should they fail to establish their right to be here; but if they should establish their American nativity, there is no Federal statute which will compel their owner to release them. This phase of the Chinese problem requires the careful attention of our lawmakers when they are considering the new Exclusion Act. (Applause.)

In conclusion, I wish to say again that we can justly feel every confidence in the statesmanship, honesty and ability of our Congressional delegation. They will frame the new Exclusion Law and frame it, I am sure, as wisely as human wisdom can. But this convention can voice the heartfelt prayer of all California that the East may join with the West, and, in the coming session of Congress, aid us in passing a just and wise measure that shall guard and protect from the blighting curse of Asiatic immigration, America's labor and industry, her commerce, her trade, her homes, her children, and her future. (Great and long continued applause.)

JUDGE A. C. HINCKSON, Sacramento.—I move that a vote of thanks of this convention be tendered to the gentleman for his eloquent address.

(The motion was duly seconded and carried.)

CONGRESSMAN WOOD.—For the information of the convention I wish to say that at the request of the delegation in Congress, the bill to be introduced in Congress is being prepared by the District Attorney of the United States.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, I now take pleasure in introducing to you the Rev. William Rader of San Francisco, who will address you on the effect of Chinese immigration on public morality.

ADDRESS OF REV. WILLIAM RADER.

Gentlemen of the Convention: I have not the honor of appearing before you upon this occasion as the official representative of any religious body, but rather as a citizen of our common country, with the expectation of voicing to some extent the opinion of the moral community on the subject of Chinese immigration.

THE EFFECT OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION ON PUBLIC MORALS.

It may appear to our fellow-citizens in the East that the people of California are violating their sacred faith in the brotherhood of man by resisting the immigration of the Chinese. Standing as the nation has so many years for the brotherhood of man, inviting the alien races of the earth to seek shelter and refuge under our flag, it may be asked if we, in the West, are turning the hands back on the face of our national policy and repudiating the Burlingame treaty of 1869, confessing that we are not equal to the task of christianizing the races of the world.

We are not opposing immigration because we do not like the Chinese. Indeed, many of us have become attached to this picturesque Oriental on our streets, and in our kitchens, who, like Tennyson's Maud is "icily regular, splendidly null." It is not a question of religion. Our country is free to faith, provided faith be true to freedom and republican institutions. Neither is it a question of human rights. Immigration is not a right, but a privilege. The enjoyment of American liberty is not a right, but a privilege conditioned by the capacity to exercise such a prerogative. It is quite within the power of the State to regulate such national privileges. This has been the policy of European governments for hundreds of years. It is the prerogative and policy of the United States to be exercised, not only in accordance with international goodwill, but in defense of national wellbeing, in protection of commerce, the workingmen, and national morality.

This, then, is a question of method, as to how the industrial and social integrity of the Republic may be conserved and maintained. This great convention meets in the name of American patriotism and not with one word of race prejudice. The issue is that of American civilization as against the venerable paganism of China, with the hope that the one may be protected, that the other, in the progress of light and liberty, may ultimately be destroyed and become civilized.

Three main arguments are used to support Chinese exclusion. The argument of industry, of political economy, and of morality. I have been asked to speak upon the last.

This is fundamental to the others. Morality is the corner stone of American civilization and the moral reasons against unrestricted immigration must always be the chief argument against exclusion. We have too long been looking into the trunks of immigrants, the time has come for us to look under the hats of immigrants. (Applause.) We must watch carefully the ideas, customs, vices, weaknesses, the anarchy, and the old world evils, which sweep through our gates and vitiate American life. America is fighting the faiths, the degeneration and the sins of the world. Long before the guns of Dewey broke away the rusted hinges of the Oriental gates, we were touching the whole world ethically. When the Forty-niner came across the plains in his prairie schooner, he found the Chinaman crouching on the sand dunes of the Pacific.

The influence of his life in California is a part of our common history. That serious attempts have been made to grind the Chinese grist in the American mill is known to all, but we have signally failed to make American flour in any great quantities.

Noble men and women have given their money and their lives to this end, and the recent atrocities in China which thrilled the nations and brought the armies of the world to rescue, are sufficient answer to the charge that we have failed to recognize our obligations to an inferior people. The morality of America is not prudish, which is to say, we are not afraid of contamination. We are not an ascetic people, with a narrow view of the world. We have not seated ourselves upon the summit of civilization withdrawing selfishly from the world's work, and with an air of superior virtue resisted the contaminating touch of aliens. No, we have gone forth with our flag and our faith and entered into life.

Through our gates have come the downtrodden, the Italian, and Swede, the German and Dane, and all nationalities. We have fought for the blacks. Here in San Francisco we are not by any means morally perfect. We have troubles of our own. (Laughter.) White vice is as evil as yellow vice, and it is because of this that we see danger in unlimited immigration. (Laughter and applause.) Humiliating as it may seem, Christian America is not equal to Pagan China. San Francisco is not equal to Chinese immorality. Is Boston, or New York, or Chicago equal to the task of assimilating Chinese populations with American standards? Says a Chinese proverb, "The light of heaven cannot shine into an inverted bowl." The Chinese in the United States are an inverted bowl. Henry Ward Beecher said "when the lion eats the ox, the ox becomes lion, not the lion ox." It has been well said in reply that if there is too much ox, or if he be poisoned, we have a dead lion as a result. China is the ox. America is the lion. As well might a mouse try to digest an elephant as America to digest China. (Laughter and applause.) There is too much China—a China of many centuries, of four hundred millions, of fixed traditions and vices. You cannot empty the Pacific into a cup. This is what advocates of unlimited immigration would try to do. What are the facts, The present number of Chinese in the United States may approximately be put at 100,000. Of these 18,000 are in San Francisco, 54,000 on the Pacific Coast outside of San Francisco, and 28,000 in other States and Territories. It is estimated that the whole number of Chinese professing the Christian faith is about 1,000. It is claimed that more than 2,000 attend evening schools, that the number in missions and public schools equal 500, and that $60,000 has been given by the Chinese for the building of chapels and for Christian work. I may venture the opinion, however, that in the face of these figures, it is the opinion of Christian workers among the Chinese that the proper place to civilize the race is not here, but in their own country. (Applause.)

One of the striking testimonies of the history of the organized extension of a civilization is that such work is accomplished not by the immigration of Pagans but by the emigration of Christians. In other words, the philanthropic motive cannot safely be used to support the argument of immigration. We would never for a moment use such a motive in our treatment of other races. After nearly forty years of freedom, we are excluding the negroes from the Southern ballot-box, and writing fiery editorials because the President of the United States divides his loaf with a man with a black skin.

We have failed to Christianize the Chinese population of California. From a moral point of view the Chinaman has not been a success in the United States, which is to say, he has not assimilated with American institutions and ideals. He has planted orchards, built railroads, washed linen, and prepared dinners for $30 or $40 a month, but has signally failed to become a moral American force. His negative virtues have never become positive influences.

This is true, largely, because he is the immigrant without a home. He is a man without a fireside. Other immigrants have brought hither their wives and children, for whom they have sacrificed. The cabin and the school, the church and the library, followed, and some of the best blood in America flows in their viens.

They have become pillars of the Republic, but the Chinese are a homeless people. Consequently they have imperiled their environment, and the influence of their lives has not been good. The Scotch have given us conscience; the Italian, artistic taste; the Frenchman, wit; the English, piety; the Scandinavian, industry; but the Chinese have no permanent gifts to American life.

He has contributed nothing to the moral or social fibre of the republic. He has left no art, no science, not even his fortune or his bones. (Laughter.) He has taken millions from our gold fields; he has not left anywhere a permanent dollar. No man is a moral force in the the United States who takes away his money and his skull. (Applause.)

A few years ago the Board of Supervisors of this city made an investigation, when it was shown that 30,000 Chinese lived within a space comprised in eight blocks.

Fifty-seven women and 59 children living as families; 761 women and 576 children herded together with apparent indiscriminate parental relatives, and no family classification, so far as could be ascertained; 576 prostitutes and 87 children—professional prostitutes and children living together. There were 103 houses of prostitution, 150 iron-clad, barred and barricaded gambling dens, 26 opium joints existing in defiance of municipal laws and of municipal authority. In habitations sufficient for 250 persons, the committee found 823 actual sleeping occupants. The conditions are practically the same to-day. Chinatown furnishes the best argument against Chinese immigration, from the moral standpoint. Its odors and filth, its prostitution and slavery, its opium joints and gambling dens, its unsanitary conditions and atmosphere of secret sin—these convince the nostril, influence the eye, and turn the stomach! (Laughter.)

We have cleaned Havana with broom and spade and flame; but every large city in the country has an annex of Chinese degeneracy which needs, doubtless, Bibles and schools, but first of all sanitation and cleanliness, which, in the laws of health, precedes godliness itself. (Laughter.) Chinatown in San Francisco is a museum of Oriental vice, kept open for the benefit of Eastern tourists—and other people. (Laughter and applause.) It is a city of slavery, worse than the slave pen in New Orleans which gave young Lincoln the inspiration to lift the thunderbolt of the Northern conscience and break the shackels of the blacks. (Applause.) A second Harriet Beecher Stowe might write another "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and draw the picture of an Oriental Eliza bound by fetters. There she stands, looking through the iron bars of Chinatown, with the Stars and Stripes above her, and with centuries of heathenism behind her! (Applause.) Shame! Not only on China, but shame also on America. (Applause.)

The opium habit has percolated through the social life of this city and this State. It promises to work untold destruction in the future. Scores of white men and women, it is said, indulge in the use of this deadly drug, with its dreams of unreal satisfaction. In China opium shops are more numerous than rice shops. It is claimed that more die every year from its effects than are born. Put the blame where you please, the fact remains that the influx of Chinese millions means the coming of the Yellow Death.

Opium dens abound in San Francisco's Chinese quarter. They are upon bunks, men are curled up like withered leaves—lost in the fumes of the drug of the beautiful dream. Every lodging-house, restaurant, and nearly every store, guild hall, and almost every home, has its opium couch. He likes his opium pipe more than his distilled rice. The importation of opium has reached as high as one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year, to say nothing of the amount smuggled in.

Crime is bred in Chinatown. Highbinders execute their own laws of vengeance; murders are frequently committed. In thirty years 1,645 Chinese felons have served time. During the last six months 1,140 arrests were made in Chinatown. It breeds murder, crime, licentiousness, slavery. Destroy it! (Applause.) Let the plow run through the filthy streets. Plant corn where vice grows! Let the fountains splash where the opium fumes fill the air! Open it as a play ground for the children. Remove the standing menace to health and happiness, is the most powerful argument against unrestricted Chinese immigration. (Applause.)

Chinese immigration feeds the already active wickedness of our country through at least four well known vices. They are prostitution, gambling, opium smoking, and murder.

In conclusion, what shall we do about it? We are here to memorialize Congress—shall we ask for a closed door of Chinese exclusion, or for a modified restriction measure?

We are united here in the West in believing some sort of exclusion is imperative, and the people of California are not in the temple to take any chances. We cannot open the dam of Mongolian invasion. We stand for American labor, which must be protected. We cannot offer up American labor on the altar of international commerce, which is not threatened in any event. (Applause.) Labor must be protected and the moral life of the public be defended. Some form of exclusion is a national, a moral, an economic necessity.

We must recognize and acknowledge the friendly relations of the two countries, and make a recommendation in accordance with international treaty procedure, in terms humiliating neither to China nor injurious to America.

Since the Geary bill was passed, a new position among the powers has been taken by our nation. We have been fighting battles for humanity. Let us act in accordance with the spirit of these wars, and in harmony with the spirit which actuated them.

The world is watching us. Let us act with deliberation, not as partisans, but as broad-minded patriots. The class of coolies which make up the rank and file of the California population, who come without wives or wealth, who interfere with American workingmen on the one hand and affect public morals on the other, should have the door of the nation closed tight against them and locked with a Geary key! (Applause.)

If there is any doubt as to the working of a law with a qualification, let us give the present exclusion law the benefit of the doubt. That the men of brains and culture in China, the statesmanship recognized by General Grant in Li Hung Chang, whom he considered one of the three greatest statesmen of the world; that the men who have adopted European or American ideas, and who are the moral leaders of their race, students, teachers, merchants—that these should be recognized and respected by our declaration to Congress and by the law Congress may enact, is, to say the least, consistent with the higher spirit of the American people, and to the higher life of China. (Great applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I now take pleasure in introducing to you Mayor Snyder, of Los Angeles.

ADDRESS OF MAYOR SNYDER OF LOS ANGELES.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of this Convention: This is the most impressive body I have ever had the privilege of facing. It is impressive in that here are representatives taken from all parts of the State of California. You have left your homes, you have left your families, you have left your business, and at your own expense you have come here, and all are of one mind. This convention is peculiar in that here we find Democrats and Republicans; we find the capitalist and the laborer; we find the representative of the pulpit; we find that all walks of life are represented here. And we are of one mind—in favor of Chinese exclusion, "for country, home, and civilization."

I regard it as the sacred duty of every American citizen to faithfully discharge his political obligations to his country—a country every foot of whose territory has been consecrated to the cause of liberty by the precious blood of heroic patriots. It is the duty of all Americans to see to it that the shrewd duplicity of Oriental corruptionists is not allowed to defile public sentiment and lead the American people to sanction legislation by the National Congress that will permit the contamination of our soil by an influx of hordes of the lowest type of humanity. I say that it is our first duty as American citizens to fearlessly face this fearful problem, and to stamp out once and for all time this threatenting plague of unrestricted Chinese immigration . (Applause.)

We are assembled here to contribute to the preservation of an elevated and pure American sentiment that will bring the blush of shame to the faces of those who advocate the opening of our doors to a flood of creatures who believe in no government, unless it be a despotism, and who have no obligations to the government under which they live other than that inspired by fear.

I shall speak plainly. The Chinaman is a pagan, devoted to the worship of idols, despising Christianity, hating our civilized institutions, disregarding our social system, sneering at our patriotism, and doing his utmost to demoralize our people. Against him our doors should forever be kept closed. (Applause.)

I am one of those who think that the ability of our people to assimilate alien races is about exhausted, and that the invitation to the peoples of every clime to join with us and participate in our great government of and for and by the people should be withdrawn.

We are in a position to say that only the best men of foreign lands shall be allowed to enter and become American citizens; and we must say in thunderous tones, alike to the anarchist and to the criminal of Europe and to the filthy and brutal pauper of China, "You cannot enter." (Applause.)

Our present greatness as a nation is to be attributed to the mixture of worthy elements which the fascination of a republican form of government has drawn from all parts of the world. It has ever been, as a rule, the better classes of other nations that have severed the ties of home and native land to come and share in a government absolutely free and equal, in that it gives every man an opportunity to make himself the equal of any other man.

The ingenious Swiss, the practical Englishman, the polished Frenchman, the gallant Spaniard, the busy, home-loving Irishman, the sturdy Scandinavians, and all other desirable immigrants that come to our country come believing in our form of government, believing in the principle of our government. Each brings the strong qualities of his race, and each brings a devoted admiration for our governmental system—have by intermixture become the common parent of the American of to-day.

To them, and to all deserving ones who come to enjoy the blessings of our republic because they believe in its principles and love its doctrines and desire to contribute to its success, the invitation is everlasting and the doors are forever open. They are akin to us in their every characteristic.

But this grand continent, with its high civilization and wondrous development, is not the lap into which China may disgorge its criminals and paupers, its invalids and idiots, its surplus moral and physical leprosy.

It is a well-known fact that the physical characteristics and habits of the Chinese prevent their assimiliation with our people. They must always be foreign to us, even if in our midst. Not only the laborer, but those Chinamen skilled in some art or trade in their peculiar manner, interfere with the industries of our country.

They are content to live in narrow quarters, unfit in an American eye for the habitation of a horse or a dog. They are satisfied with the bare necessities of their brute-like lives. They have no wish for a home or family. All these things enable them to work for a pittance compared with our American laborer, who properly seeks to secure the comforts of a home and to provide for the rearing and education of his children.

We must prevent the degradation of the American workingman. (Applause.) He is the bulwark of prosperity, and, to paraphrase a well-known saying, his dinner pail must not be emptied by allowing the Chinaman to enter into competition wtih him. (Applause.)

In conclusion, I say that none, no, not one, in the halls of Congress can be excused from doing his duty by the American people—and especially the people of this Coast—upon the plea of ignorance. What unlimited Chinese immigration means for this land and its working classes is only too well known from past experience. (Applause.)

We owe it, not alone to the future, but to our own time, with its mighty spirit of progress, its wonderful triumph and its free laborers, to see that the Chinese Exclusion Law is re-enacted. (Great applause.)

COMMUNICATION FROM TRUXTUN BEALE.

The following communication from Mr. Truxtun Beale was presented to the convention:

"While the Chinese question is frequently treated as one of the modern race problems, it is really the oldest political question of history. We can never know how often in prehostoric times some little gleam of civilization may have been put out by an overwhelming wave of barbarism, but from the earliest beginnings of history the civilization of Europe has frequently been attacked and imperiled by the barbaric hordes of Asia. If the little band of Greeks at Marathon had not beaten back ten times their number of Asiatic invaders it is impossible to estimate the loss to civilization that would have ensued. But the little spark of European civilization, surrounded as it was by the dark ocean of Asiatic barbarism, was kept aflame by Grecian valor. Two centuries of Athenian civilization was the result. When we contemplate what modern civilization owes to Athens, that it was from her that we learned our first lessons of civil and intellectual freedom, that it was there that the foundation of philosophy, of science, and of all the fine arts was securely laid; when we recall that it is her spirit and genius that has run like a woof through all the civilizations coming after her, we can form some conception of how important it then was to keep the Asiatics from breaking into Europe. For many centuries after Europe was constantly threatened by Asia, and in the sixth century after Christ civilization again barely escaped being blotted off of our planet by the success of Atilla and his Asiatic hordes in breaking into Central Europe. But the Goths succeeded in crushing his power on the battlefields of Chalons, the wave of Asiatic barbarism rolled back and civilization was again saved. Two centuries later it took the strength of Europe to drive the Arabs back across the Pyrenees. Again, five centuries later still, if the two great branches of the Tartar race, instead of quarreling on the edge of Europe, had combined, they would have subjugated and destroyed the best of everything there. Since the repulse of the Turks from the siege of Vienna civilization gradually became strong enough to take care of itself, and the danger of the extinction of civilization by a military invasion from Asia passed away; but from that time to the present the expulsion of the Turke from Europe has always been a burning question, and up to the present time we have continued the policy of excluding Asiatics from our shores. Progress has always thus been menaced by Asiatics—once in danger of total extinction by the Persians, later in danger of being almost rebarbarized by Atilla, later still just escaping being Mohammedanized by the Arabs, and again, owing to a lucky quarrel, escaped being Tartarized by the Turks and Tartars.

"I only give this short sketch of the fight civilization has had to make against Asiatics, not because its bearing upon our present subject is so direct, but to put the burden of proof where it belongs—upon those who now advocate the admittance of Asiatics into a civilization that has flourished only by fighting them off. It also demonstrates to us that progress, contrary to the usual impression, is the exception and not the rule. It is not every race that has inherent progressive tendencies, and when we consider what narrow escapes from total extinction it has several times had, both progress and civilization to us appear almost like lucky accidents. It therefore behooves us to guard them with tenderest care.

"In discussing the policy of the admission of Asiatics into this country, there is one question in relation to it that overshadows all the others in importance: What effect would the invasion of the Chinese have upon the welfare of the laboring class? Would it lower their efficiency? Would it lower their standard of living? Would it make their struggle for existence harder? Would it decrease the number of comfortable and happy homes that form the foundation of our system of free government? A wise settlement of the issue depends upon honest and enlightened answers to these questions. That country cannot be in a healthy state where the efficiency and standard of living of the laboring class is permitted to deteriorate; it is no longer in a progressive state where the efficiency and standard of living is not improving.

"Now, there is no doubt, as our opponents maintain, that the admission of the Chinese would cause an enlargement of our national wealth and a great increase of production; but the distribution of wealth, not its production, is to-day our most serious public question. In this age of science and invention, the production of wealth can well be left to take care of itself. It is its equitable distribution that must now be the concern of the country.

"The increasing recurrence of strikes in modern times must have convinced every one that their recent settlement is nothing more than a truce. It is not a permanent industrial peace. The new organization of capital and labor that is now necessary to bring about lasting peace and harmony between those engaged in production will require greater sympathy, greater trust and confidence and a clearer mutual understanding between the employers and the employed. Any such new organization will require a closer union to be formed between them. These requirements can never be fulfilled between the individuals of races so alien to one another as ourselves and the Chinese. It is not compulsory State socialism, but the gradual and voluntary adaptation to our industries of different systems of profit sharing, that all the great political economists of the English-speaking races look forward to as the salvation of the laboring class. This would necessitate not only all the requirements mentioned above, but a uniformity of laws, customs, and manners that only exist between closely kindred races. If the laborer, over and above his wages, is to participate in the profits of production, he becomes—in a restricted sense, it is true—a partner of the concern in which he works. If a portion of the profits as is now frequently the case in Europe, is obliged to go towards the purchase of a certain amount of stock in the concern, he ultimately will have some small voice in its direction. Such an improved system, as can easily be seen, would never be possible between Chinese coolies and American capitalists. It is at a time like this, when both capitalists and laborers strongly feel the need of one another, that a system more fair and equitable than the present one is likely to be evolved. But if you admit a large immigration of Chinese and make the capitalists independent of white labor, all progress toward an improved structure would at once cease.

"The Chinese are only capable of working under the present unsatisfactory system. All progress, then, to an improved organization of capital and labor would be arrested. We might have a greater growth, but never greater development. If mere growth is what we desire—greater population and greater gross production—then China herself could be our model.

"With the tremendous systems of ocean transportation of modern times, they could in an incredibly short time, if the traffic paid, pour a turbid Niagara of Asiatics in upon our land that would submerge a great portion of our laboring class. We would have ultimately, then, a hybrid type of civilization—half European and half Asiatic—with a large excrescent white population, with the remainder of the white labor degraded to the level of the groaning millions of Asia—a type of society with which progress to a better state would be an impossibility.

"If we must have protection, it is far better for us to protect ourselves against the man than against his trade. What effect a large invasion of Chinamen would have upon us under our present regime has been recently very thoroughly discussed; but as we are in an advancing, not a stationary state, how would he travel with us along the path of progress seems to me quite as important a consideration. Whether he would accelerate or retard our journey toward that land of promise, full of plenty for all, which has been the hope of so many of our noblest minds. Any one who has read Professor Hadley's book on the education of the American citizen, and learns in it the requirements it is now necessary for him to cultivate in order to maintain more than the mere form of free institutions, would realize that the Chinaman would have no place in our social system. The highest forms of government require the highest races of people. To adapt the Chinaman to ours we would be obliged to begin by eradicating his religion, superstitions, traditions, ideals and customs that have been so wedded to his mind after 4,000 years of inheritance as to almost have become a part of himself.

"Yet, in an age when the brotherhood of man has become more fully recognized, when the world is growing narrower and at the same time our sympathy is growing broader, it might not be considered right to discuss this question without reference to the welfare of the Chinaman himself. Luckily for us, we need have nothing on our national conscience; the Chinaman has a great industrial destiny in his own country.

"Few realize that China is, as yet, a sparsely populated country. It is a little more than one-third as thickly populated per square mile as the most sparsely populated part of Europe. It is not one-quarter as thickly populated as the most thickly populated part of Europe. I can confirm the testimony of other travelers as to the great extent of uncultivated land in its interior; its mineral deposits have not yet begun to be developed, and it is said to contain the finest and largest deposit of coal yet anywhere discovered.

"Contrary to the popular impression, the Chinaman is not a far-seeing business man. He is not an enterprising man. His sole idea in business is to turn his capital over rapidly and get quick returns in trade. If those returns come from the outset he will work as hard, perhaps even more steadily, than Germans or Americans. But the idea of laying out the profits of capital for several years in order to drain marshes or irrigate wastes never occurs to him, so that not only China, but the huge continent of Asia is now awaiting the regeneration it is rapidly to have. In the course of twenty-five years men of European capital and European foresight, who are now attempting to build up that continent—so much larger and so much less developed than our own—will create an enormous demand and a relatively high wage for the labor of the Chinese coolie.

"Let their merchants, travelers, and students then come here, as before, to carry back to China the benefits of our improvements and experiments; but let our country itself be dedicated to progress as well as to freedom.

"The big convention to be convened in Metropolitan Temple tomorrow morning will find more than 1,500 enthusiasts on the question of Chinese exclusion present. Many prominent men have called at the Mayor's office during the past few days to learn the details of procedure, and to learn, also, if any note of encouragement has been received from Washington. It is generally conceded that the Eastern cities and States will favor repudiation of the present restrictions, and that only by the most strenuous measures will California and other Coast States succeed in having the present bill re-enacted.

"Jasper McDonald, President of the Park Commission, and a warm supporter of the present law, was seen in the Mayor's office this morning. Mr. McDonald is interested in many mining enterprises, and is in a position to speak of the baneful effects of Oriental competition with the white labor of California.

" 'They don't understand us in the East,' said Mr. McDonald. 'The people there actually believe that we have got over our feeling against the Chinese, and that we are not in reality opposed to the repeal of the Exclusion Law. What a tremendous mistake! I don't suppose there is a sane man between this and the Arizona State line who is not favorable to the present law, not from a merely local State standpoint, but from a national point of view. Let the Chinese come here without restriction,and in a few years every State in the Union will be filled with them. White men will be reduced to penury, and the dignity of American labor be destroyed. We don't want them as Americans, and more particularly as Californians.

" 'It is a national question surely. I would not hesitate to say that with unrestricted immigration the very future of the republic would be endangered. For twenty or thirty years our laws with relation to the foreigner have been too loose, and instead of relaxing our hold upon the Exclusion Law, we should make it more binding, if possible. I am against any compromise, and I trust the convention will accomplish its ends.' "

THE CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, I will introduce to you Congressman Wood, who will now address you.

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN WOOD.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I have not come before you for the purpose of making a speech. I came to this convention as a delegate. I came for the purpose of absorbing some of your spirit, so that when in Congress, if the fight should become serious and I should become wearied, I might be inspired by the memory of the thought and hope and action of this great convention. (Applause.) I am a product of California. (A Delegate—"A pretty good one, too!") (Applause and laughter.)

Over fifty years ago my mother, carrying me in her arms, landed at the corner of Jackson and Montgomery streets from a boat, and I have seen this city and this State grow from early childhood, and I have for her a great love, and that great love makes me loyal to her in this the hour of her exigency. (Applause.)

I was delighted awhile ago at the manifestation of your pleasure and delight at the able and splendid speech of our young Assistant District Attorney. (Applause.) And I wish you knew how proud I felt of him, because he is a product of America and of American institutions. (Applause.)

That splendid orator—and he gave you only a slight test of his power this morning—came to San Francisco seventeen years ago a common painter and worked in the city of San Francisco at his trade (Applause); and now, under the inspiration of American institutions such as they exist to-day, he stands the peer of any man in California. (Applause.)

I want to make, as I said, no speech to you. You need no speeches. But it has been well that the speeches that have been made along the law and the religious lines of the subject have been made, because they will go forth as the expression of this convention, and through this convention as the expression of the thought of California and of the Pacific Coast to the East, to show that the law officers of the government and the preachers of the Christian religion stand shoulder to shoulder on this question of the exclusion of the Chinese from American territory. (Applause.)

There is work for this convention to do. We have the fight in Congress to make. I have been to Congress—was there two months—and knowing that during the next session this question would come up for solution, I studied the temper of the Congressmen, to find out whether or not it was necessary when I returned to Congress again to be equipped for conflict, and I found that I had to be ready for a fight with my colleagues upon this question.

We have expanded as a nation. There has been a difference of opinion upon the question of expansion, but these differences of opinion have been settled by the manifest destiny of America, and she has expanded under God, and whether you wanted her to expand or not. (Applause.) Expanded as she has in obedience to divine decree, are we now to mutilate this expansion by allowing the doors of the western portion of the continent to be opened to four hundred million Chinese, who bring to America nothing but degradation and despair for us? (Applause and cries of "No!") You say "No." That is our opinion. And I say that this convention ought to have been a convention of the Pacific Coast. And there should be yet carried on along the lines of the Pacific. In every Territory and State west of the Rocky Mountains, this work, until the entire delegation from the Pacific Slope will stand in Congress as a unit, and behind them will stand as a unit the common sentiment of the entire Pacific Coast represented in great conventions in every State. (Applause.)

You must work, and every newspaper on the Pacific Slope should from this time forth, under the inspiration of your request to them, work in their columns to show the East that there is no dissension, and that there is no disposition to divide upon party lines on the Pacific Coast upon this great question. Why, we know in America that the common man is the hope of the republic.

We know that the rich may leave us if they desire but we know that this country can never stand if the common man—of whom, thank God, I am one—is degraded in his manhood. (Applause.)

Keep this convention alive from this day until the battle is won, and appoint a permanent executive committee. Keep your chairman in his place, ready to call this convention together at any time. (Applause.) And if we find that the commercialism of the East, represented by such men as Morgan, and the sentiment of the churches, right always excepting this time, when it is wrong, is against us, and that we need help, and we telegraph you the cry from Macedonia to come over and help us, he can call this convention together, and the convention can stay in session until we can say to the East: "There is a great convention of American citizens in session in California and they will stay in session until this battle is won." (Great applause and cheers.)

If you think that this delegation is going back to Washington to meet a Waterloo, you don't know the delegation. (Applause.) Why, every mother and every daughter of California is involved in this battle. And do you think that such men as we are, knowing this conflict is for the mothers and the daughters and the children of California, will ever give up this battle? (Great applause, and cries of "No!" "Never!")

I say to you men I know what noble impulses have brought you here. (At this point a delegate proposed three cheers for Congressman Wood, which the convention interrupted the speaker to give.) And if there is any man who has come to this convention with anything in his heart but a love for California first, and America next, let him "go away back and sit down." (Laughter and applause and cheers.)

I tell you how I feel about this. If I knew that my resignation would bring about the passage of this bill, as recommended by my young friend, I would write the telegram on this desk and send it to the Governor this minute, to make California free from this curse. And that is how I love her. (Applause and cries of "Good!")

Now, gentlemen, I said I did not come here to make a speech. (Laughter and applause, and cries of "Go on!") This is no speech. (Laughter.) Why, it is a talk out of a man's heart, who feels what he is saying. That is what it is. (Applause, and cries of "Good Boy!")

If you will keep up this splendid enthusiasm behind us fellows in Congress, all hell cannot beat us. (Laughter and applause and cheers.) (At this point the speaker was again interrupted by three cheers from the convention.)

That is the way to do it, boys. That is the kind of spirit that the boys had at Manila when George Dewey sank the whole Spanish fleet. (Applause.) That is the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon, that, under God Almighty, has made the American flag supreme on one side of the world. (Applause.) I tell you that this is no political question. I have told my colleagues in Congress already that you have a splendid majority in Congress, but be careful of that majority. And I am going to tell you now that when I go back—and I don't care what the Republican party thinks of what I may say now—"If you don't pass the Exclusion Bill to keep the Chinamen out of America for the preservation of American citizenship, you will find that we will be made footballs of at the next election by the American people. (Applause and cheers.) And I will tell them, "By God, you ought to be made footballs of." (Laughter, applause and cheers.)

Now, I say to you, in conclusion, this is a wild talk, but it is not quite rattle-brained, because I feel what I say, and I mean what I say, and you will find it out in the end.

I have been seriously at work in this matter for the last month. I have corresponded with every Sheriff in the State of California, with the Chief of Police in every city in California, with the Health Officers of every city in California, and I have accumulated a mass of evidence that would chill your blood, and then would make you hot as the fires of hell after the chill was over! (Applause.)

Why, because these officers of the law have told me that these people that have already come to our shores are poisoning our civilization at the very cradle almost; and that is why it will chill you first, and when the chill is over you will have the hot fires of indignation as hot as hell to burn these defilers of our cradles and to blast them forever from the land. (Applause.)

I will not give these evidences to you. I will keep them for the committee to read, and then if the great committee want to find out whether these statements are true or not, they can refer to the officers of this convention for confirmation. And that is the reason I want you to keep this convention alive to bolster us up in our facts.

Now, I say, go home as members of this convention and keep alive through the actions of your Executive Committee an enthusiastic and hopeful spirit. Go home to your papers and set them alive, and, if necessary, let the people of the East, the commercial man, and the devout woman who wants to convert the world in the East, see that at present and until the passage of the Exclusion Act by Congress the Californian and the Pacific Coast man, woman and child know nothing in the world but the absolute necessity of passing the Geary Exclusion Act with all its splendid amendments. (Great applause and cheers.)

On motion, duly seconded, the convention took a recess until two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

FRIDAY, November 22, 1901.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Geary.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The secretary will read a letter from the Mayor-elect of San Francisco, just received by him.

LETTER FROM MAYOR-ELECT SCHMITZ.

The secretary then read to the convention the following letter:

Watsonville, Cal., November 20, 1901.

To the Chairman of the Chinese Exclusion Convention,
Metropolitan Temple, San Francisco.

Dear Sir: I regret that I shall be unable to attend the meeting of the Chinese Exclusion Convention, but beg to express through you to the convention my earnest and sincere sympathy with the objects of your meeting.

The Chinese as a race must be excluded from our shores, from injurious competition with our labor, from obstructive interference with our industries, and from damaging contact with our civilization.

This is not a problem of race prejudice, but one of conservation of our American homes and our American life. Indeed, the question of Chinese exclusion is no longer a problem at all. It is a demonstrated proposition. No one on this Coast who possesses any social or political intelligence and foresight can see two sides to the question. There is but one. The Chinese must be excluded. The Chinese Exclusion Act must be re-enacted and its provisions fortified, and it should be made also to embrace Japanese, whose unchecked immigration is becoming even as disastrous as that of their Chinese neighbors.

I believe in the protection of American labor against the cheap labor of foreign lands, and in the protection of the American laborer and his home and family against the invasion of Mongolian hordes.

For any assistance or support in furtherance of these views and the objects of your convention, I shall ever be at your command.

E. E. SCHMITZ, Mayor-elect.

(The reading of this letter was greeted with applause by the convention, and three cheers were given for Mayor-elect Schmitz).

THE CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, I will now introduce to you one of the representatives of the labor people, Mr. W. A. Cole, who will speak to you on the Chinese question from their standpoint.

ADDRESS OF W. A. COLE.

Fellow citizens: We are here to-day not particularly as members of any particular organization, but as our noble old friend from Sacramento said, as citizens of the United States first of all; and so, while speaking as a delegate from Carpenters' Union No. 483 of San Francisco, I feel that I should not confine myself entirely to that particular organization, for the men who sit in this convention to-day represent the entire citizenship of California. (Applause.) I want to say that I feel proud of being a delegate to the most representative convention that ever convened in this State. (Applause.) It is a convention that represents every phase of California life, except the Chinese (laughter); and we all know that they hold no part in the life of California. In considering the question of the exclusion of certain classes of people, or certain elements from participation in the American life, we hold no grudge against the Chinaman because he is a Chinaman. We hold no grudge against any race because of his race. But the man that is not fit to be a citizen of the United States, the man that cannot be assimilated and become a part of our national life, has no right on these shores. (Applause and cheers.) When I go out to labor at my trade, to build up the City of San Francisco, State of California, I do not want to be hampered in that occupation which I follow to support myself and family by any competition with a man that has no realization of American institutions or of the American family. I want to be free, and so do you. We have no quarrel with men because of their race.

We welcome the Englishman to this country because he is a part of the Anglo-Saxon race, with the Anglo-Saxon faults, let me say, but above and beyond that the Anglo-Saxon virtues, and he becomes a citizen here. We welcome the German and the Italian. We welcome the Irishman because he has proven, by three hundred years of struggle for human rights, that when he becomes a part of this country he will appreciate and adopt its principles. (Applause and cheers.) Consequently, I say when the declaration of this convention goes out to the East, it will have a weight that the declaration of no convention ever convened in California has had, because it will represent every phase of our State life, every nook and corner of California.

There is one thing that I particularly want to touch on. It has been well said, and truly said to-day, that this is a great fight. Do not underestimate the strength of your enemy. All over the United States are elements and interests that are engaged in trying to down Chinese exclusion. We must not shut our eyes to that fact. But I want to call your attention to another fact. Throughout the United States are men banded together for their common interests in labor organizations. A great many people do not realize the extent and the strength of those organizations. And I want to say to you that the brunt of this fight must be borne by them. We realize it. We appreciate the fact that the citizens, and all bodies of citizens, must stand together in this fight. I might illustrate this by the story of the old man who had an ox team of four oxen. He was a religious man. It is very seldom you find a religious man driving oxen, and it used to be said that a man could not possibly drive an ox team and be a Christian. But this old man was a Christian, and he called his team Presbyterian, Methodist, Catholic and Baptist. Somebody said to him, "Why do you call your oxen by those names?" He said: "They all take their food out of the same trough, are cared for by the same hand, but they have developed the habit of kicking at one another; and that is true of these religious organizations. But I will tell you there is another reason. When you hitch them up and they put their united strength on a load, they make a grand team when they all pull together." (Applause.) But I want to say that, when we talk about educating our Eastern friends on this question, we should remember that the labor organizations of the United States are educated on it. (Applause.)

Some of our friends to-day voiced to some extent the idea that, while the Japanese question was also a great question, you should be careful how you put it forward. So do I say so. But remember this: Those men have progressed farther than we dream of; and in the labor organizations all over the United States this question of shutting out undesirable immigration—don't misunderstand me on that; not the man who comes here to labor and benefit himself, but the element that never can be assimilated in the American life—has been discussed for years; and those men understand it. And I want to say that they will go to Congress side by side with this little handful of people on the Pacific Coast, and say to them: Gentlemen, behind this demand is the vote of millions of American men. (Applause.) They are looking from every corner of this country to-day to see what the papers of to-morrow morning will say of the convention that is meeting here in San Francisco. (Applause.)

I don't for one moment doubt that those men will line up with us, that they will fight with us, and that they will be with us when the victory is won, as it will be, because if this present Congress does not enact the laws on this question they are asked to, there will be a Congress there the next time that will. (Great applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—Congressman Wood will say just one word to you upon a matter he had intended to touch upon this morning.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN WOOD.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I forgot this morning in that razzle-dazzle talk of mine to make of you one request for the delegation, and that is that we don't want you to bite off here more than we can chew in Washington. If we can re-enact, in the presence of the possible opposition which we will have there, the Geary Act with the proposed amendments thereto, we will have achieved a great victory. Therefore, let the Japanese question abide a while, and we will take care of that a little later. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF HARRY RYAN.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Ryan of San Jose.

Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates: It first behooves one that is striving to represent a labor organization such as the Building Trades Council of Santa Clara county, that I represent in this convention, to consider what are the sentiments as passed by that organization from time to time, and what were their real instructions, and then to strive and see if I can couple with those instructions and their sentiments what I feel myself upon this question. In some degree, possibly, I might differ with the general instructions that I received from that organization; but upon a general basis I believe that every person that has observed the injurious effects of Asiatic immigration into the United States will agree that it is necessary to enact this Exclusion Act, and therefore we might as well proceed as laboring men—as men representing different organizations—what is the best method to pursue, and in order to determine that course first we must try and analyze what are the real objections to the Chinese race. Now, I think that we will all agree that the first objection that seems to strike us most forcibly is that the Chinese are able to do more work, with less food and with less clothing, than any other man that lives. (Applause.) Now, if that is an actual fact, how is it possible for us to compete against that tremendous human machine? We all know that it is possible for a Chinaman upon the rivers of China to take his two small bowls of rice and mix that rice with the muddy waters of that river and propel that boat with freight or passengers some eighteen hours a day. Now, men of this convention, those are the actual facts. That is an actual condition existing in China, and do you think it is not possible for Chinamen to come upon this soil and do the same amount of work upon the same amount of food? I believe that it is. Then how can we men compete against such a machine as that. It is an utter impossibility. The only way that we can possibly do it, is to so contract—and I believe most of us believe in expansion, but this would be an act of contracting our stomachs rather than expanding them—in order to compete with the Chinese. (Applause.) And if we attempt to do it, if we think it is possible to do it, we will not only have to train our stomachs to be able to do that amount of work on that amount of rice, but we will have to scale it and bring it lower, because those are really the elements of competition. We cannot possibly produce commodity and compete with them in the same affairs unless we are able to do it.

We find throughout the empire of China that the Chinamen are now utilizing some of the improved methods that we in the United States have for producing the commodities that we all consume. Now, here is another danger, gentlemen, that I want to bring before this convention, because while it is impossible to meet it at this time, sooner or later the labor organizations and the people of the United States, and, further, the people of the civilized world, will have to take up the question. We have to-day within our midst this condition—the competition of the Asiatic races—and we find that it is impossible for us to compete with them; and this is the point that was touched upon by some of the speakers upon this platform, and it is an element that is going to play an important part in our representatives' procedure in Washington. Our opponents are going to argue that it is necessary for us to maintain an open door in China for the purpose of placing in that country some of our surplus products. Chauncey Depew, before the last great National Convention of Republicans, asked that convention what means this battle at the doors of China. He stated that the purpose was to enable the Americans, the English, the French and the Germans, and the great producing nations of the world, to get an entrance into China in order to dispose of the products that they now have on hand for sale. Gentlemen, we are producing these goods and we must have a market in order to continue our industries. Here is a vast country undeveloped. Here is a country that is practically without machine production. There is there the greatest opening for American improvements that has ever been opened for the world, and England sees it. The United States sees it. Germany, France and all of the great machine-producing countries of the world see that there is an open market for the sale of their products, and the American mechanics, which I represent in part to-day, have got to depend upon a market of that kind in order to continue in their employment. Now, we had a conflict. It is necessary to dispose of that. Having disposed of it, we armed those Asiatic races not in the United States, but we arm them in China with implements to compete with us. Where? In the United States? No. In the world's market for the sale of our product, and I wish to point right here to this convention that when we pass this Act, which I believe we will, and which, in fact, the labor organizations of the United States are going to force to an issue, I say they are going to force to an issue, for this reason: We are organized locally, we are organized in the counties, we are organized in the State, we are organized nationally, and we are organized internationally. (Great applause.) I mean to say that in the labor organizations we have a working machine of government. We have our local organizations affiliated with district councils. We have those legislative bodies ready to be brought into use at any time that we may wish to call them there. We then have our central bodies, which is generally our county organization; and we can bring that machine in motion, which you have seen some of it right in the City of San Francisco. (Applause.) Gentlemen, you have not only seen it in the economic field, but you have seen it in the political; and, furthermore, if we could succeed in the enforcement of this which we are attempting here in this convention, then the labor organizations of the United States will rise in their might, and put not only their economic machinery in motion, but also their political to attain their ends. (Applause.) I say it is because they know that the situation demands it. If our representatives find themselves unable to pass this measure in Congress, they have what will be the natural and logical result. It will mean that those representatives in the East that have refused to support this bill, that have refused to listen to the mandates of this convention, that they certainly will have to lose their positions and give way to labor representation. (Applause.)

Now, then, in returning to the subject, I say, first of all, we demand the exclusion, and then what is the impending danger? We then have blocked the way by which a certain interest—that is, the commercial interest—and we have been told upon this platform, and we know from facts, that there is no sentiment in business. There is no sentiment in Congress, and there cannot be, and if there could be, it would not be for the betterment or for the interest of the American people. Therefore, commerce and industry not having any sentimentalism attached to it, will be forced to protect its interest, and it certainly will have to protect its interest upon the lines of least resistance. Now, gentlemen, what is the line of least resistance?

We find that the planters of the Hawaiian Islands are striving for more of the Asiatic labor. We find that they are striving for it in the Southern States, and we find that they are striving for it in the East and here in California—that is, the masters of the industry are striving for it. Now, the nearest way that they can possibly secure it is by taking their shoemaking machines, their Northrup looms that do the work of hundreds of workingmen, their typesetting machinery, all of the implements of production that the Americans and the people of this civilization now have in their domains, and place them at the disposal of the Chinese in China and produce the goods that come in contact with us in the world's market. That, gentlemen, is the logical conclusion.

If that is the case, then what is necessary? What are the best steps that this convention can take in order to protect the interests of the workingmen in the State of California and in the United States? I will point to it. Furthermore, I believe that, in expressing my individual opinion here, that I express the opinion of all united labor, that if we have a surplus product which is the result of the manipulation of our improved method of production, the best method of avoiding the competition with the Chinese in China, with the Japanese in Japan, with all of the Asiatic races, or all of those who are able to do more work and live on less food than we do, the only solution to the problem is to secure a method by which we can here in the United States consume more of our products. (Applause.) That is to say, that the labor organizations will take it upon themselves to reduce their hours of labor and increase their wages. (Great applause.)

Therefore, the gentlemen of this convention have not only a duty upon themselves of protecting the workingmen of the State of California against the Chinese that are in California and in the United States, but it also has the duty of declaring that the working classes of this country shall get more and more of their production, so we will have nothing at all to sell to the Chinese. (Applause.) In that way we will solve the labor problems for all time.

What means this conflict here in San Francisco? It was a struggle for more and more for that which labor produces, and the working people, gentlemen, you who are not familiar with labor organizations, I wish to state that here in this convention you see assembled workingmen from all over the State of California and, possibly, representatives from States along the Coast. You see that there is an organization; you see that there is a consciousness among the producing classes of this country, and that consciousness is going to continue; it is going to expand. The educational movement that is on, through the influence of organized labor, that is being agitated, that is being taken notice of by every American citizen at the present time, that has been taken notice of by the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, by the gentlemen who called this convention to order when they invited those men because they knew they were representatives not only of the workingmen of the State of California at the present time, but of the coming generation in our sons and daughters. (Applause.) They know well enough that the backbone of the State of California is now represented by the great workingmen of this present generation, and those same workingmen that are in those organizations have children that are growing up at the present time and that are going to control and determine the destiny of the State of California. (Applause.) But there is no necessity of borrowing trouble, and I only mention this to show those who are not familiar with the labor organizations that you have got to recognize them. You have got to recognize the force of the laboring classes. You have done it to a certain extent, and I only plead with you to-day to further consider the organizations of labor and see that you all work in the future in the interest of those organizations that I maintain preside over the destinies of this country.

Further, it is necessary upon this particular occasion, it is necessary to-day and it is necessary to-morrow, regardless of what the future will be. We maintain that the Japanese are a very typical race to contend with in competing for our bread and butter in daily troubles, and, therefore, we hold that this convention ought to take some steps in order to pledge itself to at least pass some resolutions that will enable us in some future time to handle that question as soon as the opportunity affords itself.

I do not think that labor representatives of the State of California would desire that we encumber ourselves at the present time with any Japanese attachment or rider, or whatever you might term it, to this Act. In fact, I know to the contrary that the labor organizations of this State desire that, above all things and the first of all things, and the only thing at the present time, is the enactment of the Geary Act. (Applause.) That we wish to confine ourselves to; that we wish to endorse from top to bottom, but we also want the Executive Committee of this Convention to take into their hands the exclusion of the Japanese, in order that they may devise ways and means by which we can at some future time protect ourselves from their injurious competition. (Applause.)

In closing, I wish to state that you have named representatives here from my own county, and I hope before this convention closes that they will be able to take the floor and give you at least an outline of the work that has been accomplished in Santa Clara county and in the City of San Jose. In relation to the labor movement which pertains to this question, we have had considerable opposition, but the time has come at present when they begin to see that the laboring men as organized in the different classes of Santa Clara county are the ones who are willing, and, in fact, are many times the only class that is willing to take a hand in a movement that means the upbuilding of industry and the furthering of the interest of the people of California.

I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I now take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. R. T. MacIvor.

ADDRESS BY R. T. McIVOR.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the Convention: If there is any person here who thinks that the ground has not been very fairly covered up to the present moment, they had better come up and do it themselves, because I cannot do it. However, there is one point that I wish to speak upon. We are told from time to time that the East is against us. If the East or the money in the East—if that be the fact, this is an excellent time to make a present around Christmas and New Year's, and if they will accept our present we will export to them the Chinese that we have got in California, willingly. (Applause.) A little practical experience with cheap labor is the best possible labor for those who think that it will do them no harm. We will have enough as laborers in the future to contend with, and that is the economic development of machinery. The reason I make this point is on account of a representative Chinaman, who is in the East, who is

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lecturing and maintaining, or trying to prove, that it is only the unskilled that will be injured—menial work that will be done for us that we really don't care anything at all about. Any person that knows about the machinery that had been invented and improved upon in the last twenty-five years is conscious that, wherever a machine comes in, skilled hand labor is displaced, and to-day we are less of a skilled nation, so far as hand work is concerned, than we ever were in the history of the world before. (Applause.) Therefore, we want for those who are out of employment and will be out of employment, we want all the labor in the country for the laborers that know how to demand a living and more. (Applause.)

We are not content with the smallest amount of food, clothing and shelter. We want as much buying from producers as any other individual in the community and the country. Let that be clearly understood. This is not a labor problem alone. Let us see for one moment how it will affect our Eastern manufacturers or distributors of wealth. Suppose we produce daily to the value of five dollars and receive one dollar in exchange. Will any person in this convention or our Eastern opponents tell me how long it will take to make a crisis in this country when you can only buy back with your one dollar one dollar's worth of the wealth that you have created? Now, we get none too much at the present time. (Laughter.) None too much; and if we allow a horde of uncivilized—and certainly there is probably one thing that can be said in favor of the Chinaman, only one that comes to my mind, and that is, if Christ were to come upon earth to-day, he would find the Chinaman exactly the same looking individual and acting individual as he left him 1800 years ago. (Laughter and applause.)

Now, I must stop, my friends, because I know the ground has been covered, but there is just one thing in conclusion—I intended to conclude quick and I will try and do so. This is not a race question, borne of race hatred, because any other race of people equally a menace would also be excluded. It is purely an economic question. The Chinaman is a menace because he works cheaper, because his living costs less, because he has inherited a constituted temperament and physique inured to mental and physical deprivation by centuries of poverty, want and governmental oppression.

An unrestricted Chinese invasion is a danger to Caucasian civilization. Civilization consists in the multiplication and satisfaction of human wants and desires in the lowest strata of society, not in their curtailment or restriction. That is all I have to say. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I now take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. E. L. Malsbary, representative of the Carpenters' Union.

ADDRESS OF E. L. MALSBURY.

Mr Chairman, Gentlemen and Fellow-Citizens: I do not intend to make any extended remarks to-day. You have listened in this convention to some of the most eloquent addresses you have ever heard. I, as a representative of the Carpenters' Union of San Francisco, do not intend to occupy your time but a few brief moments. You have listened to one or two representatives of labor from San Francisco, and I may assure you right now that we have representatives from both ends of the State—representatives of labor, I mean—who are far more able to address you and entertain you than I am. I want to assure our Congressman here (Mr. Woods)—he said he made some remarks about a razzle-dazzle speech. I want to assure him that there will be a razzle-dazzle backing that he will never forget when organized labor comes to the front. I want to assure you, Mr. Chairman, that in the past when you used to number organized union men by a few thousand, to-day we number them by millions. Only yesterday a telegram was read signed by Samuel Gompers. (Applause. Cries of "Very Good.") Do you know what that means? That means that Samuel Gompers is the representative of one million, five hundred thousand union men (applause), and, as has been stated to you here to-day, they have been educated on this question, and they will back up the Congressmen who are with us in this fight; and I can assure you that those who are against us—some of us are old football players; I think I heard something about football. I think we can contend with those Eastern representatives who are against this proposition, although the great bulk of organized labor lies in the East, but, notwithstanding that fact, we have 40,000 in San Francisco alone.

I am not going to discuss the reasons why or the wherefores about this Chinese exclusion or why we should exclude them. You all know that. That is superfluous; but I will give you an idea of my own, and I believe it is the idea of every one here, that we are in a fight, and we will fight until that bill is signed. We will never stop. Not only will California do this, but it will unite the East and the—I mean the labor element of the East, who are thoroughly conversant with the question. I want to assure our Congressmen and the delegates there in the East that we will not put any riders on this memorial to Congress that will in any way embarrass them. We will leave it free and open to them, but we will, Mr. Chairman, express our opinion in regard to the Japanese that we may at some future day take hold of the question and deal with it as we see fit and proper.

Mr. Chairman, I am not going to make any extended remarks. I say we have representatives from both ends of the State. We have heard a great deal from San Francisco, and I desire at this time to give way to the representatives from the South. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, I take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. F. C. Wheeler of Los Angeles.

ADDRESS OF F. C. WHEELER.

Mr. Chairman and Friends: If you think I am going to make a speech you will get badly fooled. I am going to make two or three remarks and quit. I wish to preface those two or three remarks with a little yarn I told a friend of mine last night about a certain lady who wore long corkscrew curls—I can picture her now in my mind's eye. She had a parrot who got into the habit of saying bad things and cursing once in a while, but the thing that hurt the lady more than anything else was this: He said, "I wish the lady would die," and it worried her a great deal, and she went to her pastor about it, and the pastor said: "Well, sister, I have a bird that was raised in a good moral atmosphere, and possibly if you put your bird in a room with mine, the parrot will learn better ways." And the lady thought it was a good thing to put her parrot in the room with the other one, and she did so and went away. Towards night she wanted to know how the parrot was getting along, and she went up to the door quietly and opened it, and the first words that the lady heard were these: "I wish the lady would die," and then the preacher's parrot said, "Amen." (Laughter and applause.) To what has been stated here yesterday and to-day in regard to the questions before us, I can say, like the preacher's parrot, "Amen." But there is one thing which the last two speakers have mentioned, which all the other speakers have overlooked, and that is, our Congressmen who have stood upon this platform have told you that the people in the East were ignorant of this Chinese immigration. They told the truth, but I will say to you that there is one class of people in the East who do understand it now and have for several years, and who will stand like a mighty stone wall for Chinese exclusion, and that is the labor unions of our country. (Applause.)

I just have one or two illustrations to make, and I will say in that connection that, when you want the men to go to their Congressman and memorialize the different districts of the East, we will have to go to the labor unions all over the country, because they are interested in it.

I want to give you an illustration of what the Chinamen are doing here. A short time ago Chinamen were imported here for the purpose of railroad construction. After a while they got into our cities, and got into the mills, and the shops, and were making boots, shoes, hats, caps and almost everything that is made in San Francisco to-day, and part of which is made in Chinatown. Those Chinamen work there and they learn those trades, and they became familiar with the tools and that line of business; and the Chinaman, foxy fellow as he is, said, if we can work for this man and make money for him, why cannot we get the machines and make the goods and get the profits for it. And so Mr. Chinaman, after being taught by white men those trades, he went back and set up his machines, and now he is running the white man out of business.

We have heard the last two years about expansion. We have expanded and taken in several hundred thousand of Chinamen in the Philippine Islands, and to-day, according to the courts, they are American citizens. Think of that.

We have also here people whom I will say, with all due respect to them, and I honor them for being here, but they are not well posted on the labor question, or at least not as well as some of us who have spent months in its study in a scientific manner. I was taught when a child, and I have had it drilled into me from that day to this, that competition is the life of trade, and yet, on their own testimony here, they show it was the death of trade and the death of competition.

There is just one more thing I wish to say, my friends—just one more illustration, and I will close. We hear about the expansion and the open door of China. It seems that trade is of more value than human liberty and American rights and the rights of the civilized world. But here we know that the door of China, if it is opened, that the capitalists and the manufacturers will go where they can get the cheapest labor. It is true and they will take their machines to China, and if we do have a wall to keep out the Chinese, we cannot keep out their products in the other countries, and will have to meet it on a different proposition.

In conclusion, I will say I have been recently traveling over the southern part of the State, and what do I find? I find this fact, that where Chinamen had been employed at labor, the companies, to further reduce their expenses, have employd the Japs at fifty cents a day less than the Chinamen.

And so the second proposition I mentioned is not before this convention, but I say to you, my friends—to the professional men who are here—I will make to you this statement, and I will dare any man to gainsay the truth of my remarks—that there are vast numbers of men in our trade-unions to-day who are much better informed upon the economic and political questions of to-day than the vast majority of the merchants and the college professors of our land. Applause.)

DELEGATE J. S. PARRY.—It seems to me that, as near as I can learn up to this time, there has been one very important matter that these gentlemen have overlooked. I refer to the part neglected by the Committee on Memorial. They had no secretary. They had not been empowered by this convention to elect a secretary and fix his salary, and they certainly need a secretary. Their work will not be fully prepared without one; their communications as quickly and as promptly, and, therefore, in view of that fact and other things I might mention, I move you now, sir, that this convention delegate to that committee the power of hiring a secretary and fixing his salary.

(Motion seconded and carried.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Alden Anderson, ex-Speaker of the California Assembly, has been in attendance the last few days, but was suddenly called away at noon time on very important business. He has left a written statement of what he wishes to express to this convention. With your permission I will ask the secretary to read it for Mr. Anderson. Is there any objection to that?

SEVERAL DELEGATES.—No, no; let it be read.

(The secretary here read the following paper of Mr. Alden Anderson of Solano county):

COMMUNICATION FROM HON. ALDEN ANDERSON.

It seems superfluous and entirely unnecessary for the people of California to meet in convention to declare their sentiments upon the question of the exclusion of Chinese coolie labor from our shores, because the sentiment in this State, without regard to creed, class or political affiliation, is almost unanimous upon the subject, and that unanimity declares in no uncertain tones the desire for continued exclusion.

It is because of the misleading reports which have been sent abroad, however, in regard to the feeling upon this question in California that it is necessary that some form of public expression should be given by the people of the State, and for that reason the calling of this convention is to be highly commended.

I have been requested to prepare a short article for the convention bearing upon the subject, especially in regard to the horticultural industry and the relations to the same of Chinese and white labor.

From the period when general attention was first directed to the raising of fruit in large quantities in this State, it was only natural that those engaged in that industry should turn to the Chinese for the needed labor. They constituted the surplus labor of the time, and the employment being more suited to them than most others, they took kindly to it and in a short time they practically performed all of the labor connected with the business through all of its ramifications, orchard work, canning, drying, packing, etc.

This condition of affairs lasted for some time after the enactment of the first Exclusion Act, but as the fruit industry grew and expanded and the available Chinese labor diminished, attention was turned more and more to securing white labor to perform the work. The first efforts along that line were generally discouraging and not fully successful, because it was impossible to get the better class of white help to turn their attention to labor in which they had to compete with the Chinese, whose standard of living was so low.

There was a general prejudice against trying to compete. The consequence was that the chronic unemployed, the shiftless, the intemperate and unsuccessful in other lines, were the first to take employment and the results were often disappointing.

The necessity for more labor, during the harvesting season especially, was great, and it took some time to break down this prejudice; but when the wives and children of many who were engaged in the business went into the orchards and packing houses, and it was found that intelligence and application counted there as elsewhere, the position to shun work in fruit was gradually overcome and attention was turned more and more to the details of the work, with the result that to-day can be found as intelligent, reliable and efficient class of labor engaged in the various branches of the fruit industry as can be found in most any other occupation.

Illustrative of this point I would mention the large number of students of all our schools who devote their spare time to this work. During the last two seasons I have personally known of at least twenty-five students of our State University who have spent their summer vacations working in various orchards and packing houses. Should they not be encouraged in this and no obstacle whatever placed in the way of our boys and girls continuing to do this work? Self-interest, if nothing else, answer, Yes.

As regards the cost of the work now as compared with the time when the Chinese supplied all labor for the business, there is little or no difference. The ability to perform more labor, and the added intelligence brought to their tasks, form a large item of compensation in favor of the white help. Because of beneficent effects as exact, Chinese are becoming fewer every year. No one hires them now simply because they are cheaper. The one item in their favor is that they board themselves, and in orchard and vineyard work, many rentors and some owners are not as yet prepared to care for all the white help they require.

In all branches where products are brought together to be prepared for market, such as work in canneries, dried fruit and raisin-packing houses, and the packing of lemons and oranges, white help now practically performs all the labor. The tendency is towards the elimination of the Chinese as a particular factor in the labor market. The only lines wherein they are potent at present is in the packing of fresh pears and apples, but women and girls can do this equally as well when they turn their attention to it.

The desirability of white help as compared to Chinese, both to the individual and to the State, is greatly in favor of the former in all respects.

It is a fact not to be denied nor controverted that no other class of labor can exist on the same amount and class of food and with as little expenditure of money as the Chinese. They have no family ties and do not and cannot, and, for that matter, care not, to affiliate with our society or with our institutions.

They come here, not to stay, but to accumulate money and return home. They bring the bulk of their food, which is rice, and their wearing apparel with them. They send the bulk of their earnings out of the country. I believe that I am understating rather than overstating the fact when I say that 90 per cent. of the money paid to the Chinese laborer is exported from the country.

In contrast to them, white help becomes a part of the community wherein they reside, and wages paid to them finds its way directly into circulation again. Their labor and their expenditures have an upbuilding tendency in any neighborhood.

Should the bars be thrown down and another horde of coolie labor admitted, help could be hired a few cents a day cheaper it is true; but when we take into consideration the loss of practically all we have gained in the character and quantity of our white help, the exportation of increased earnings of the Chinese, which would tend to impoverish the country, and the inevitable depreciation of property values, their cheapness would be dearly bought.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. J. S. Taylor.

ADDRESS OF J. S. TAYLOR.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Exclusion Convention: I have been requested to address you as a representative of the farming interests of this State as to what effect the free and unlimited immigration of Chinese would have on our farmers, and have chosen for my subject "The Chinese Coolie and the American Farmer."

Gentlemen: Where in all the world will you find a greater contrast than between these slaves of the Orient and the free and independent farmers of America. The coolie is, to all intents and purposes, a slave. He is owned, both body and soul, by that powerful corporation, the great trust of China, known here as the Chinese Six Companies. His fare is paid to this country, and, if he has any difficulty in getting in, this powerful combination has the means to employ the brightest legal talent we have, which will, sometimes, I am sorry to say, prostitute its ability in trying to defeat the purposes of our laws, for the filthy lucre of the "heathen Chinese". (Applause.) If he gets ashore his expenses are paid until he gets work; he may be sent into the country and hire out as a farm hand or as orchard help; then he slaves for years in order to repay his masters, and if he should die here, to have his precious bones sent back to the Flowery Kingdom. John is very imitative and soon learns to run a farm or an orchard "allee samee Melican man." When he has repaid his masters their due and shown his master his ability to run a farm or an orchard, he is backed by his powerful trust and put in a position to compete with the free-born and independent American farmer. And what competition! Oh! my countrymen, free-born American citizens of this grand and glorious Republic, think twice before you let down the bars of restriction against this, to us, most alien of all human races.

Should we let down these bars, what might be the result? Should the hordes of China pour into this country, not only would our American labor, which is the best paid and most intelligent in the world, be debased to a Chinese standard, but our American farmer, the bulwark of the republic, the class that has furnished our great merchants, scientists, statesmen and warriors, would be so debased by this ruinous Chinese competition that our national life would lose its vigor and vitality, and America, like Rome, would begin its decline, and the last hope of liberty vanish from the earth.

Some of our misguided statesmen and avaricious manufacturers would barter the wellbeing of our laboring and farming classes for an extension of our trade with the Chinese empire; they do not act upon the principle of "the greatest good to the greatest number;" but their motto is: "The greatest good to the least number." For this paltry foreign trade they would destroy the greatest market in the world, our own home market. (Applause.) What makes this the greatest market in the world? Our well paid laboring classes and our prosperous farmers. But debase American labor to a Chinese standard and the American farmer to a serf and you have destroyed the commercial supremacy of America.

But, representatives of American labor here assembled, I think I can say to you that you will find you have a firm friend and supporter in the American farmer on this issue, and when the American farmer thoroughly understands this subject you need not fear the result. The American farmer is no fool. Some of our would-be smart people say "he doesn't know enough to come in out of the wet," but sensible men think differently.

The farmer knows that his best and greatest market is the home market, and he knows also that his best consumer, and his best friend, is the well paid, well housed, well clothed and well fed American workingman. (Applause.) Therefore, workingmen of California, let your voice be heard on this subject with no uncertain sound, and I feel assured that the farmers of this State and nation will rally to your standard and carry it, like our brave soldier boys in the late Spanish war did theirs, to complete and glorious victory.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, we have with us the secretary of the Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Carpenters of the United States. I will introduce to you Mr. Miller, a resident of St. Louis, who is here on a visit.

ADDRESS OF J. R. MILLER OF ST. LOUIS.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of this Convention: It was the farthest thing from my mind that I should be called upon to appear upon this platform. Only a few minutes ago a friend of mine called at the hotel where I am stopping, and asked if I would come up here for a few moments for the purpose of giving an expression to what I might think was the sentiment of the people of the Eastern States on this Chinese question. I was not very sure whether I should come here or not, and I do not come here as the representative of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, but I come here this afternoon as an American workingman. (Applause.)

It is true, possibly, that throughout the East we may not have studied the question of Chinese labor as closely as have our brothers on the Pacific Coast. Nevertheless it is a fact that even through the Eastern States we have a fair sprinkling of that class of people in all the larger cities we find them, and wherever we find them they come into an unfair competition with what we call free American labor. (Applause.) Therefore, it is of as much interest to the people in the East as it is to the West. And, talking from the standard of a trades-union man, I take this stand, that all union labor men are opposed to any labor that is not free. We are opposed to Chinese labor, as well as convict labor, and to any class of labor that can be manipulated by other people—by those people who have the means and the power to bring to the shores of this country any class of labor that will enter into an unfair competition with the free men of this country. (Applause.)

Since coming here and attending this convention a little while yesterday afternoon and a little while to-day and hearing the speakers referring to the different phases of this question, and the condition of Chinese life within your city, I want to state that for my benefit a few of my friends the other night took me to pay a visit through what you call Chinatown, that one of the speakers here, I believe, if I quote him right, said was kept as a kind of exhibition for Eastern people when they come to San Francisco. I often heard back there that it was one of the special features of San Francisco, and I assure you that it was a special feature to me. (Laughter and applause.) It was a proposition that I had never run up against in the whole course of my life. It was a revelation, in fact, and when we find within the confines of a city like this such a condition as exists there, it is surprising, gentlemen, that we wait to legislate anything of that kind from the face of a fair city like this. I say it is surprising that we take the time and steps in legislating. It is enough to make the blood of any man or woman boil to imagine that there can be people living in a country like this under those conditions. Is it not wonderful? Nevertheless, it is true, and any one who may have the good fortune, or the bad fortune, as you may call it, to travel through those underground tunnels that they have, and where they live like rats, will not wonder that you raise your voices in indignation against any movement that might threaten to bring upon you a worse condition, which surely will come should laws be enacted, by whatever power may be back of it, to force upon you such another influx of a race of people who can live in degradation as these people do.

Now, I do not intend to make a speech here to-night. I refer you to the telegram that was read here yesterday afternoon from Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. (Applause.) And that telegram, I assure you, was sent here by a man representing a powerful organization of the united men and women of the United States of America; and you can be assured that he and the other officers of that organization are watching carefully this movement at the present time; and that, without saying more, will give you to understand the sentiment of organized labor throughout the country in relation to this matter.

I wish also to state before I sit down, that at the last meeting of the executive board of the organization that I represent—and that organization represents nearly 100,000 men from one end of this country to the other (applause)—a resolution was adopted, to be published in our official journal, to the effect that we as an organization are opposed to the importation of coolie labor, or Chinese labor, and favor the making of a law that will, if possible, be even more effective in keeping out of this country such a class of labor as that than the present one. That was the stand our executive board took in the middle of October. We, as trades-union men, as I stated the other night in a meeting of the local union of our organization, desire, as far as possible, to be liberal to all men of all countries. I said that the fundamental principle of organized labor was to recognize the brotherhood of man. After I sat down a friend, of mine, a member of the organization, got up and said: "Brother Miller, possibly you are not aware that on this Coast we are afflicted with a condition that does not exist among you people back East. We have here a community of Chinamen, a class of people we cannot stand for." In reply I told him that I had referred to the brotherhood of men, and not to the brotherhood of Chinamen.

I say that we draw no color line, nor the line of any creed, in the labor organizations of this country; but we do stand for the best conditions for all people, black or white, in this country, who are willing to stand for themselves as against the powers that may be who endeavor at times to crush out that sentiment and that endeavor on the part of the workingmen to get for their fellow men what they believe rightfully belongs to them, people who are able and willing to work for a living such as this country guarantees to all, but unfortunately we all do not get. (Applause.)

I will not take up your time any longer, but I believe when I say this that the sentiment of organized labor over this country will be with this convention to-day. They are watching it in the East; I will assure you of that, and we cannot afford to give up our principles for any such condition as you have here. I believe that the organizations throughout the country are with you, and when the time comes to express themselves, you will find out just where they stand. (Applause.)

MR. CHARLES W. REED.—There is in San Francisco a very eloquent and very efficient friend of organized labor. His voice has always been raised in the cause of the opressed and in the cause of the poor, and in the questions that affect the wage-earners. I will move, Mr. Chairman, that this convention invite Rev. Peter C. Yorke to address them. (Applause and cheers.)

I assume that the applause that greeted my remark is the best thing I can say in his favor.

(The motion was duly seconded and carried.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Reed will be appointed a committee to wait upon Father Yorke and escort him to the stand.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We have now with us Dr. J. S. Williamson, of San Francisco, who will address the convention on the effect of the presence of the Chinese upon the health of our people. I take pleasure in introducing to you Dr. J. M. Williamson of San Francisco.

ADDRESS OF DR. J. M. WILLIAMSON.

In presenting his views upon the subject assigned by the Committee of Arrangements, the writer feels it incumbent upon himself, as a representative of the municipal government, to limit his remarks as closely as possible to the influences exerted by the Chinese upon the general health of this community. At the same time, an attempt will be made to show in what principal respect the race in question is an undesirable element, especially when colonized in cities and towns. Industrial or social conditions will not be considered, as these features can be more thoroughly dealt with by those whose study and research of the problems involved have qualified them to discuss the subject with intelligence and understanding.

What may be said concerning the Chinese of San Francisco will apply with almost an equivalent amount of force to any community upon the Pacific Coast in which people of the Chinese race may be found, and it can be accepted by those interested as one of the contributing factors to the many reasons which justify and even demand the re-enactment of the Exclusion Act.

Taking the habits and customs of the Chinese of San Francisco as typical of those exhibited by them when grouped in any American community, it can be alleged without danger of contradiction that the section of the city inhabited by them has given more concern to the authorities than all the rest of the city combined. Violations of sanitary laws and indecencies of many descriptions are no sooner suppressed or abated than they are almost invariably repeated. The Chinese, exclusive of the official and mercantile classes, appear to revel in dirt and wallow in filth in preference to becoming and remaining clean, even when the cleanliness is provided and paid for by the landlord, the city or the State.

During the past five years the holders of real estate in San Francisco's Chinatown have been compelled to spend many thousands of dollars for sanitary plumbing to replace that of antique and inefficient character which had been condemned by the health officials. It is an acknowledged fact that unless a strict daily watch is maintained, some of the occupants of the premises where improved plumbing has been placed will exhibit their disapproval of such innovation by wilfully breaking and damaging the same.

Property owners in Chinatown, who would otherwise be perfectly willing to follow the directions of the Board of Health, have often complained against being forced to put forth large expenditures for modern plumbing, claiming that as soon as it is installed it will be ruined beyond repair.

In the Chinese quarter of San Francisco open sewers have been found running through underground living apartments. After these have been closed by the authorities, they have been repeatedly reopened by the persons living in the premises, who seem to regard an open sewer as a convenience instead of a nuisance. In the subterranean strata there are places where tunnels have been dug leading from inhabited basements beneath the street as far as the main sewer, which has been opened in order to afford ready access, for what particular purpose the Chinese alone can say. On one tour of inspection tiers of bunks occupied by sleeping Chinese were found in a tunnel just on the verge of an open sewer.

The utter contempt for the simplest principles of sanitation has resulted in the deliberate breaking or obstructing of drain pipes, which, unless discovered by inspectors, have been permitted to discharge their output into cellars and other excavations, where it saturates the soil and continually gives forth offensive exhalations.

The Chinese are gregarious. If by any means ten can occupy a space barely sufficient for one, ten will occupy it. Many of the lower orders abhor a chimney as nature abhors a vacuum; they prefer to cook their food in open fire-places without vents. As a consequence, the atmosphere of their living rooms, already surcharged with organic matter exuded by the inmates, reeks with smoke which cannot find an outlet. To a Chinaman about to retire for a rest or indulgence in opium, fresh air is an abomination. He not only closes windows and doors, but pastes paper over cracks and keyholes in order that the noxious vapors he breathes may not be contaminated by the outer air. These violations of ordinary hygiene react forcibly upon the Chinese themselves, and pulmonary diseases are prevalent among them. It may be argued by those not vitally interested that they (the Chinese) are the direct sufferers; others need not disturb themselves as to this particular manner of life. In reply to this contention, it can be said that any condition contributing to the impairment of health of any part of a community is a matter of direct concern to the community itself. (Applause.)

Opium smoking, once a purely Oriental vice, has received so much attention in the past that little reference is necessary, except it be to point with disgust and chagrin to the readiness with which the habit has been adopted by a considerable number of whites who, after reaching their appropriate level of degradation find in the crowded and unhealthy purlieus of Chinatown a heaven of uncleanliness admirably adapted to their debased instincts.

Police vigilance has minimized, to a great extent, the prostitution in the quarter which served as a notorious distributing center for venereal diseases, and it is not long since the district was cleared of many white girls who plied this calling among the Chinese exclusively.

As a result of poorly ventilated and overcrowded apartments, the utter disregard of ordinary principles of cleanliness and the universal infatuation for dirt, disease is active.

In the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1899, 548 deaths occurred among the Chinese. Estimating the population at 18,000, this number gives a death rate of 30.44 per thousand; the city's death rate was 19.72 per thousand. In the following year, 562 deaths were credited to the Chinese, or 31.22 per thousand; the city's death rate was 18.81 per thousand. During the last fiscal year, 418 deaths were reported, or 23.22 per thousand, while the city's rate was 19.46 per thousand. These figures show the death rate among these people to be vastly in excess of the general death rate in the City of San Francisco. The diminution during the last fiscal year is due, without question, to the fact that many sick Chinese left the city during the quarantine excitement and their deaths took place at different points of the interior.

Persons who are inimical to the Chinese and possibly lacking in the high principles of philanthropy, may look with satisfaction on figures showing an excessive death rate, but they would do well to consider if the causes which are productive thereof are not exercising a similar effect upon the white population. Out of the 548 deaths in the fiscal year 1898-99, 179 were due to tuberculosis, or 30 per cent of the total. In the entire city the percentage to the total morality from this disease was 15.93.

In 1899-1900, 211 deaths resulted from tuberculosis, a percentage of 37.50, and the percentage to the city's mortality being 17.89. Last year 33 per cent. of Chinese deaths was charged to the same disease, while the city mortality from this cause was 15.80.

These figures, to a sanitarian are significant, and they cannot but appeal most strongly to every citizen; they show that more than 50 per cent. of the deaths resulting from tuberculosis in San Francisco take place among the Chinese. Many of those who die are domestics and laundrymen employed in various parts of the city. A number of them have spent their period of illness in towns of the interior, and following their custom, have traveled here to die. No one can tell to what extent they may have contributed to the spread of the disease by communicating infection not only to their own people, but to the whites among whom they may have lived.

These statements could be further elaborated, but, as this is not a time for the study of statistics, it will be sufficient to say that the State is harboring a class of people who are contributing not only to an increase in the death rate, but also to the propagation of a disease which is indisputably known as infectious.

Tuberculosis is not the only menace to the health of the State. Another disease has obtained a foothold among the Chinese. In mentioning it the writer is fully aware that his opinion may be received with disapproval by some who are present in this convention. He may invite again the attacks of the local press, and may incur the wrath of certain persons high in official station; but if he avoided the issue at this time he would be false to the profession of which he is a member, false to the oath he has taken as a public officer, and false to the citizenship represented in this convention. The fact cannot be passed without notice that for nearly two years an Oriental disease of deadly nature has existed in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, and has been slowly but surely selecting its victims, until at the present time over fifty deaths from this disease are known to have occurred since March 6th, 1900. (Applause.)

There is no intention of reopening the acrimonious discussion which has raged at intervals since the disease was first reported, but the assertion of certain facts connected with the subject may possibly be accepted in the spirit of belief, as they are offered in the spirit of truth and sincerity.

The records of the Health Office of San Francisco and corresponding data in possession of the U. S. Marine Hospital Service at Washington show the cases of plague which have been discovered between March 6th, 1900, and November 4th, 1901, to be grouped as follows: Chinese, 42 cases and 40 deaths; Japanese, 4 cases, with 3 deaths; and white, 6 cases, with 5 deaths.

So bitter a contest has been waged in the matter of plague that the Federal Government, through the Treasury Department, early in the present year, sent a commission to this Coast, consisting of three of the leading bacteriologists of the country, men who possessed not only laboratory knowledge, but who had studied the disease from personal observation in China and India. They spent several weeks in San Francisco, and found seven cases of pest. Their report was accepted as conclusive by the Government, and their findings were issued by the Marine Hospital Service as an official bulletin. Incidentally, it can be mentioned that all cases recorded by the Board of Health of this city have been verified by Federal officers especially trained for the work, and many of the cases have been further investigated with corroborative reports by leading medical authorities having none but a purely scientific interest.

There has been a combined and partly successful effort on the part of certain State officials and metropolitan journalists to smother the truth in this matter by loudly and repeatedly denying the existence of the disease and vilifying those who have admitted its presence. Notwithstanding these attempts at deception, the facts remain unaltered.

The failure of the Stat,e in the early stages of the controversy, to accept the situation and deal with it promptly has done a vast amount of harm, and has caused its attitude to be looked upon with suspicion by other States and by foreign countries. Why did Mexico quarantine against California? Why did Texas, Louisiana and Colorado persist in quarantining against California passengers and freight, even after high State authorities had officially stated that pest was not present within the borders of the State? They did it for the reason that the State Board of Health, in its anxiety to placate a political power, had overreached itself and had thereby become discredited.

To a certain extent the State has since atoned for its error. At a time when the commercial fate of San Francisco and of California as well was trembling in the balance, partly by reason of the report of the Federal Commission but chiefly by reason of the obstinate attitude displayed by prominent State officials and the hostility by the press manifested towards investigation, the very men who by their pens had done the most to besmirch the reputation and impugn the varacity of any and all opposed to them traveled to the National Capital with contrition in their hearts and promises to do better in their pockets. (Applause.)

On the return of this delegation, which has since been termed The Special Health Commission, it was announced that California would not be quarantined and that San Francisco's Chinatown would be cleaned at the expense of the State. Is it not a matter of record that more than $37,000 have been drawn from the State Treasury for this purpose, and over 150 men employed in scrubbing and disinfecting the Chinese quarter. Has not a cunningly worded report abounding in self-adulation been issued telling all that was done and furnished the information that not a single case of pest had been found during the three months of the process of purification, wherefore this is considered by the signers of the document as conclusive proof that pest had never existed. (Applause.) With all due respect to the gentlmen composing The Special Health Commission, and with the fullest compassion for the State Board of Health, the San Francisco Board of Health cannot concur with them in their rosy decision, but regrets to mention that since the close of the State inspection fifteen cases of the disease which never existed have been found in the infected district.

California cannot continue to pursue the ostrich policy, and cannot afford to ignore the presence of a disease by intentionally failing to find it.

The tenacity with which infectious diseases cling to the Chinese quarter is not the least reason why the class of people inhabiting that quarter should be restricted in their immigration to this country. San Francisco has no desire to undergo the experience of Sydney, Oporto, Hongkong or Bombay. Sacramento, Stockton, Los Angeles and other interior cities are equally interested. They may have the same unpleasant difficulties as San Francisco, and their health officers also may be called liars because they have told the truth. Applause.)

Is it in accord with reason or common sense for the people of the State to believe that a disease which has obtained an entry and may become epidemic can be eradicated by official proclamation or the passage of condemnatory resolutions? Can it be relegated to the Orient, whence it came, by the writing of skillfully worded editorials, ostensibly based on the reports of medical men, whose opinions, on this matter at least, are practically a mercantile commodity? Can it be disposed of by political hirelings who are paid to frequent lobbies of hotels and declaim against its existence? Can it be concealed by the tardy insertion of planks in municipal party platforms? Can it be suppressed by the fervid eloquence of pro-Chinese attorneys pleading in Federal Courts or hurling epithets from local rostrums? (Applause.)

It is poor surgery to apply a poultice where the knife is needed.

As aliens, the Chinese claim and receive all the consideration and privilege due them as such, or that the brilliant achievements of their legal advisers may secure them. They usurp many prerogatives and resort to expedients that American citizens dare to aspire to. If their district is under inspection, they elude the watchfulness of the officers by concealing their sick or carrying them over roof tops from house to house, or through tunnels from one block to another. If they are ordered to vacate the cellars in which they live, they secure an injunction and remain, while an American citizen would pack his grip and move. If they are quarantined on account of contagious disease, they seek release by habeas corpus, but the American citizen stays in quarantine. If their Consul and intelligent merchants express a willingness to cooperate in measures intended to improve their sanitary condition, they stone the Consulate and storm the headquarters of the Six Companies.

In conclusion, can it be said that the presence of a large Chinese community, consisting of elements foreign in speech, habits, morals and all else to those among whom they are situated—a community composed of individuals who cannot be amalgamated or assimilated with Caucasians, and who are, furthermore, dwelling in a squalor, the hereditary outcome of centuries of dirt and degradation—is other than a contamination?

The municipality can ill-afford to expend money for the perpetuation of a nuisance that should be suppressed. The State has already paid dearly for the purpose of rectifying its mistake. Prevention is better than cure. If you want relief, let us have a continuance of the Exclusion Act. If you want the repetition of the labor troubles of twenty years ago; if you want more opium dens; if you want more prostitution: if you want more dirt; if you want more leprosy; if you want more tuberculosis; if you want more bubonic plague—then let us have the brotherhood of man in all the fullness thereof. Let us have the open door on this side of the Pacific and let the hungry hordes come in. On the other hand, if you want none of these things; if you want clean cities, undefiled by the cotagion and unsullied by the vices of the far East, then let us have the re-enactment of the Exclusion Act. (Great applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I take pleasure in introducing to the convention Mr. G. B. Benham, of the Printing Pressmen's Union.

ADDRESS OF G. B. BENHAM.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am not a native of the State of California. I class it among my misfortunes. It certainly was not my fault, but if I desired to know the sentiments upon this question of the people of this State I would not go any further than to this convention to-day. Every class in society is known to be affected by every element of society which lowers the standard of living. We are here to-day to attempt to maintain the American standard of living. It would be generally supposed that some trade or occupation, on account of its skillfulness, would escape from the effects of Chinese labor, but it is not so; for where one trade is affected, every other trade is affected to a greater or less extent. (Applause.) It would be generally supposed that the trade which I represent here would not be affected by Chinese labor; but I assure you that the facts of the case will not warrant any such assumption.

I think I can do no better than to bring before you a short resolution passed by the Printing Pressmen's Union No. 24, which may give you some light upon this subject. It reads as follows:

"San Francisco, Cal., November 21, 1901.

"To the Anti-Chinese Convention—

"Gentlemen:

"Whereas, the constant and menacing influx of Chinese into the United States is essentially detrimental to the interests of the entire working classes, and especially to the organized workers of the Pacific Coast. Every trade and occupation is indirectly interfered with by the Chinese, and many trades (notably the shoeworkers and cigarmakers) have been irretrievably injured by Chinese competition. And

"Whereas, After investigation by the committee from the Printing Pressmen's Union No. 24 of San Francisco, seven Chinese printing offices are found in San Francisco, and others are known to exist in other Coast cities. These offices are all doing English printing; are executing all label printing and cigar box printing for the Chinese cigar trade and for some white manufacturers, and are also doing lithographing, lowering the price of all, and are rapidly making inroads in other specialties in the printing trade, thus directly endangering our means of livelihood and (as in every other occupation entered by the Chinese) assisting in the general lowering of the standard of living of the American workers. The committee finds these conditions largely due to the instruction in the printing trade given by the Christian missionaries to their Chinese converts and the apparent laxness in the enforcement of the now existing laws against Chinese immigration.

"In view of these facts, and the deplorable moral and material results to be seen from the presence of Chinese in our midst, be it

"Resolved, By the Printing Pressmen's Union No. 24 of San Francisco, as a measure of protection for its members in their occupation, and in the interest of all organized workers, that we demand the enactment of a law positive in its restrictions against Chinese and all Asiatics, and that the exclusion law known as the Geary Act be rigidly enforced until its expiration. That in furtherance of our desires we pledge our moral, financial and political support to such candidates and political parties as signify their desire to stop the further inroads of the Chinese upon American soil, and that in this we ask the support of all who wish to defend the interests of American producers; that we will oppose by every means at our command any candidate for public office and political party, and all legislative or executive action favorable to the continuance of the Chinese invasion, and immigration ruinous to the morals of the people, detrimental to American producers and dangerous to the lives and happiness of the American workers.

"G. B. BENHAM,
"GEO. MULLONEY,
"JOSEPH ROWAN,
"Delegates Printing Pressmen's Union No. 24, San Francisco, Calif."

I am not sure that I will be able to add anything to that, or to what has gone before, in the way of oratorical effort, but I do wish to say one or two things.

In the first place, it is not well for us, knowing our power in the political field, to lay all the blame for the evils that can be charged to the Chinese in our midst upon the Chinese themselves. I maintain that the Chinese in the City of San Francisco to-day are an aggregation of privileged characters. Is there a man in this audience that dares to tell me that any congregation or aggregation of white men occupying a number of blocks such as is occupied by the Chinese in this city would be allowed to carry on the houses of prostitution, the dens of gambling and the scenes of vice that are seen there every day? (Applause, and cries of "No!") Then it is the sentiment of this convention that we can charge to the laxness of our officials here a large part of the vice and crime which exists in Chinatown to-day. (Applause.)

One gentleman yesterday suggested that a good place for Chinatown would be over in South San Francisco. I have got a better suggestion, I think. I would rather have it transported about 137 miles west of the Farallones. (Applause and laughter.)

A gentleman this morning gave the approximate number of Chinese in San Francisco as 18,000. Yesterday the fact was brought before you that our Canadian cousins are willing to have Chinamen come in at $100 a head. We cannot make a better investment than to put $1,800,000 into these Chinamen, and send them over to Canada, if they like them at that price. Is there a man in the audience who dares to tell me that amount could be better invested to the advantage of the City of San Francisco? At the same time it was stated that there were 100,000 of them in the United States of America. Tell me how $100,000,000 dollars could be better invested than to send them over to the country where they like them at $100 apiece? I think they would be glad to get rid of them at any price, or at no price, before they had them long, under the conditions existing now in the City of San Francisco.

In addition to the good advice given you from this platform, there is a little more good advice I wish to give. I want those men interested in the religious organizations of this city to bear in mind that it is through the religious orders to a large extent that the Chinese organizations in this city are supported and encouraged. I think there is an opportunity for missionary work in the religious organizations of this city, and throughout the State of California, and throughout the United States. (Applause.)

In addition to that I want to say to every delegate, no matter from what form of organization he comes, whether labor, fraternal, or what it may be, that it is his duty to immediately correspond with the officers of his national organization, and see that they are interested in this question so vital to us on this Coast. It is the duty of every delegate to do not only that, but to use the journals of his organization in forwarding the ideas put before you here. Our duty is plain. Let us not blame the Chinese for everything, recollecting that there are only 100,000 Chinamen here, while there are 76,000,000 American citizens. In the competitive struggles in the industrial field among the white races, there is always a reciprocal relation between the men interested in the struggle, but in the competitive struggle between the whites and this alien race there is no reciprocity, as it has been said that they will not even leave their bones here; not that we particularly need them; but we do need to have men and women here who are interested in our institutions, and interested enough to stay here and live with us, and not those who simply come here and live off of us.

It is not my pleasure, nor will it be yours, that I shall take up a very large part of your time. Speaking now, I believe, for every organized worker in this city and in this State, and I think for the large mass of them in the United States, I desire to say that we consider it an urgent necessity and an immediate expediency that some law restrictive upon these people be passed which shall take the place of the Geary Act at its expiration. We know that when the forefathers of this nation made the laws securing to the people the grand principle we love so well, that they took the place of no people in the history of the world. When we are children we are not so discriminating in our associates as we are when we grow to older years; and it becomes us in the progress of our intelligence in this country to add to the wisdom of our forefathers, and see that these alien races are kept out, and that not everybody in the world shall be eligible to the benefits of civilization without adding to it at all. (Applause.) We are now a grown up nation. It becomes us to select our associates. It becomes us to select the people that are to furnish the material wealth and the social welfare of this country; and I take it that the American people to-day are a little bit too wise to seek for that class of people among the Tartars and the other inhabitants of Asia, and particularly of China. The corner stone of all the support that has been given to the Chinese invasion in this country was kicked out from under the building by our chairman here yesterday, when he told us that when they were talking about the extension of trade into China that we were simply going there to trade with a people who have no purchasing power. They have nothing to exchange for the products of labor, but their own debased cheap labor, and that is not what we want. We want the best of labor, and the best fed people, and the most intelligent in the world. (Applause.)

China has been pointed out by the commercial agents as a wonderfully great productive country of great resources, which we are, in our greatness, to assist in exploiting. I tell you my friends that the better thing for America to do is to let China work out her moral and material welfare for herself (applause), eliminating those vicious factors in society which we now are trying to do in America. Let the social life of China be built up upon lines which will make China good and great. Let China profit by the example of America, looking to the light of this country, a light which has ever been beneficial to every country in the world. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I will not present to you Mr. J. C. Millan, who represents the Cigarmakers Union.

ADDRESS OF J. C. MILLAN.

Gentlemen of the Convention: There are five local unions, with the Cigarmakers' International Union, located in various portions of this State, who have taken sufficient interest in this burning question to send delegations here respectively, and they are among you to-day. They came together and jointly came to the conclusion that they would like to have a voice in this convention; that they would like to file or place on record a protest against the further inroads of that class of yellow people that has caused more suffering, more hardship, and more actual despair amongst their ranks than probably has been caused amongst any other class of workingmen or laborers. They stand here on the western frontier of the continent, not probably feeling that they can suffer more than they have in the past, but they desire to raise their voices in protest in order to prevent the sufferings which will be entailed by further immigration of this yellow people upon 100,000 of their Eastern brothers who are to-day struggling for their bare existence. That being their desire, they delegated me to read you a statement which they have jointly adopted, and which they ask you to place in the records of this convention. It is as follows:

THE IMPORTANCE TO THE WHITE CIGAR MAKERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF THE EXCLUSION OF CHINESE AND OTHER ASIATIC LABOR.

The question of unrestricted Chinese immigration, and its effects upon the moral, social, and industrial welfare of the people of the United States, is vastly far-reaching and important. But to no single class of our mechanics—proportionately speaking—will it work greater industrial harm and injury than to the cigar makers of the United States, and more immediately to the cigar makers of the Pacific Coast.

The industrial history of cigar making upon the Coast may be fairly well understood by a consideration of the conditions which in the past have attended the manufacture of cigars in San Francisco, which has been the centre of the said industry ever since industrial activity first manifested itself on the Coast.

In the decade from 1850 to 1860, the cigars consumed on the Coast were imported from Cuba and from the Eastern States of New York and Connecticut, the said States making a specialty of the California trade, as it was then termed; but as San Francisco grew older the spirit of enterprise in her citizens—which has developed this splendid city—awoke, and as a consequence numerous industries were inaugurated, and among them that of cigar manufacturing. This infant industry, through the encouragement of the citizens, soon assumed large proportions, and resulted in the production of a very high grade of goods, which to a great extent supplanted the imported cigars, both foreign and domestic.

As the Chinese knew nothing of cigar making at that time, the credit for the establishment of an industry that afterwards assumed immense proportions must be accorded to the white cigar makers of San Francisco, but the benefits accruing through their enterprise and industry were short-lived, for between the years 1870 and 1880, through the unrestricted and enormous immigration of the Chinese, the cheap Chinese labor thus afforded was extensively utilized in a great many of our industries, and notably in that of cigar making. The Chinese—quick to acquire this trade—in a very few years supplanted the white cigar makers, and in or about the year 1880 there were fully 7,000 Chinese employed in the production of cigars in San Francisco, almost totally excluding the white workman from an occupation which he had created and established. But the vicissitudes of the white cigar makers and the varying conditions of the industry continued, for in 1878 arose the great anti-Chinese agitation, which aroused all classes of our citizens to the gravity of the common peril, and through the general antagonism to the Chinese, caused by the public alarm at the inroads which they had made in all of our local industries, the labor of the white cigar maker again came into demand, and many white cigar makers were induced between the years 1880 and 1890 to come from the Eastern States with the object of wresting the trade from the possession of the Chinese and of making a home for themselves and families in our midst. As a result of the sympathy then existing and the demand for white labor products, San Francisco in a short period of time had added to her population over 1,000 white workmen, who were busily employed, prosperous themselves and materially benefiting the community. But this encouraging condition did not last; public sympathy waned, and the partial victory of the white over the Chinese was soon lost. The struggle to compete against the yellow man was hopeless. The Chinese, with no families to support and an Asiatic standard of living, requiring some rice, a little salt fish, and a pot of tea, for sustenance, a miserable bunk in a squalid room occupied in conjunction with a dozen or more of his wretched countrymen, and laboring with machine-like endurance all day and a portion of the night for a mere pittance, soon proved the victor in the unequal contest, regaining what he had lost of the trade, gradually drove the white cigar maker out of the industry and forced him back East in order to find occupation.

The City of San Francisco, owing to the nature of its climate, is the best adapted locality in the world for the manufacture of cigars. The climate, divested of the heat and cold of other locations, develops the best qualities of the tobaccco leaf, enables it to be worked to the best advantage, prevents the deterioration of the quality and flavor of the tobacco, and the substance and aroma of the cigar when made, incident to the evaporation or drying out which frequently occurs through the intense heat of other climates. Our even temperature also permits the cigar to acquire a perfect "order" or condition, which when once obtained, it retains indefinitely. The natural conditions for making San Francisco a great cigar manufacturing and exporting center are ideal. At the present time there are about 200 white cigar makers employed in this great city, which possesses a home market and a contiguous trade in this particular industry, sufficient to support comfortably (white cigar makers with their families) aggregating 15,000 people, who, measurably prosperous, would be an important factor in contributing to the population, growth and general prosperity of our city.

This desirable element of population, when contrasted with the Chinese, objectionable in morals and manners, who socially and industrially retard our growth by withdrawing their earnings from the aggregate store of wealth, circulating among themselves even the small portion of their accumulations devoted to living; importing their clothing and most of their food from China through the agency of Chinese merchants and distributors; and by their exporting whatever surplus money they may acquire, back to China, there to await the time when it is sufficient in amount to enable them to go to the one place they call home and to live in ease and comfort on the substance which they have withdrawn from this community, and deprived the American workman from earning and using for his and the community benefit. This question has a national bearing on the welfare, present and future, of the American workman in all vocations or classifications of labor. The exclusion of the Chinese, Japanese and other Asiatics is vital to the future interests of the white cigar makers all over the United States; as a sad experience on this Coast has proven beyond any doubt that a white workman cannot make an endurable living in competition with the Asiatic, and with unrestricted immigration of the Chinese and Japanese, coming in greater numbers as the years go by, seeking employment in all parts of the United States. The 100,000 white cigar makers of the East will be in the near future as readily supplanted by the yellow man as the white workman of the Pacific Coast has been in the past.

The duty of the Government is so palpable and urgent, that none but those who have personally selfish interests in opposing it may deny it, and they, though powerful, are few in numbers. The protection to American labor is the sacred duty of the hour, and will admit of no delay or evasion. If the protection of American products through the medium of tariff laws and regulations is necessary, and has been the cause of our grand industrial development, nationally, as is constantly urged, it is reasonable to assume that the principle involved was intended to apply to labor as well as capital. Its application for the benefit of capital cannot be doubted, but the protection of American labor has yet to be proven, and if the benefits of the principles of the protection policy are to be equitably enjoyed by both capital and labor, the application of the protective policy of our Government must be extended considerably in labor's interest, in order to strike a correct balance.

While the capital invested in production is amply protected through import taxes on all foreign products seeking admission in competition with American products, labor without exclusion immigration laws is left totally unprotected and helpless against the competition of Chinese, Japanese, or European cheap labor, which may be imported at will by the very capital whose goods or products are protected by every conceivable safeguard that high import duties can provide. American capital is not only protected from foreign competition, but under existing laws has the opportunity—of which it is rapidly availing itself—of protecting itself through trust and syndicate methods of organization from every domestic competition.

In view of this immense measure of protection which is afforded capital, the wisdom, honesty, and justice of our government would be very questionable, should it, by refusing strong and effective exclusion immigration laws, open wide our ports to the coolie labor of China, Japan, and other Asiatic countries, or the cheap labor of Southern Europe, with an implied invitation to such labor to pass through those gates to the degradation of free American labor and the greater aggrandizement of an over-protected capital. The logic and equity of the situation is apparent. If we must not have cheap foreign goods, we should not have cheap foreign labor. If we must have unlimited protection for the capital of our country, we should not have unlimited competition for its labor. The same protection that is granted to the capital of our country should be measured out by our Government to the labor whose skill and industry constitutes the foundation of our industrial greatness, and which has builded the grandest nation that the world has ever known. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—A number of other memorials have been received from different organizations. They will be published with the proceedings of the convention. The Committee on Memorial and Resolutions is ready to report. Gentlemen of the convention: Senator Davis of Amador, the chairman of the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions.

(Senator Davis then read the report of the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions, as follows:)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MEMORIAL AND RESOLUTIONS.

To the California Chinese Exclusion Convention.

Gentlemen: Your Committee on Memorial and Resolutions begs leave unanimously to report the following Memorial:

To the President and the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to a call officially issued by the City of San Francisco, there assembled in that city on the 21st day of November, 1901, for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the State of California on the re-enactment of Chinese exclusion laws, a convention composed of State officers, representatives of County Supervisors, City Councils, trade, labor, commercial and civic organizations, to the number of three thousand, and without dissent it was resolved to memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States as follows:

Soon after the negotiation of the Burlingame treaty in 1868, large numbers of Chinese coolies were brought to this country under contract. Their numbers so increased that in 1878 the people of the State made a practically unanimous demand for the restriction of the immigration. Our white population suffered in every department of labor and trade, having in numerous instances been driven out of employment by the competition of the Chinese. The progress of the State was arrested because so long as the field was occupied by Chinese a new and desirable immigration was impossible. After a bitter struggle remedial legislation was passed in 1882, and was renewed in 1892, and by treaty with China, in 1894, exclusion became a matter of international agreement, to run for a period of ten years. Your memorialists, in view of the fact that the present so-called Geary law expires by limitation on May 5th next, and learning that you have been petitioned against its re-enactment, believe that it is necessary for them to repeat and to re-affirm the reasons which, in their judgment, require the re-enactment and the continued enforcement of the law.

EFFECTS OF EXCLUSION.

The effects of Chinese exclusion have been most advantageous to the State. The 75,000 Chinese residents of California, in 1880, have been reduced, according to the last census, to 45,600; and whereas, the white settlement of California by Caucasians had been arrested prior to the adoption of these laws, a healthy growth of the State in population has marked the progress of recent years. Every material interest of the State has advanced, and prosperity has been our portion. Were the restriction laws relaxed we are convinced that our working population would be displaced, and the noble structure of our State, the creation of American ideas and industry, would be imperiled if not destroyed. The lapse of time has only confirmed your memorialists in their conviction, from their knowledge derived from actually coming in contact with the Chinese, that they are a non-assimilative race, and by every standard of American thought undesirable as citizens. Although they have been frequently employed and treated with decent consideration ever since the enactment of the exclusion law in 1882, which was the culmination and satisfaction of California's patriotic purpose, they have not in any sense altered their racial characteristics, and have not, socially or otherwise, assimilated with our people. To quote the Imperial Chinese Consul-General in San Francisco: "They work more cheaply than whites; they live more cheaply; they send their money out of the country to China; most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States, and they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies and not after the American fashion."

THE CHINESE ARE NON-ASSIMILATIVE.

Until this year no statute had been passed by the State forbidding their intermarriage with the whites, and yet during their long residence but few intermarriages have taken place, and the offspring has been invariably degenerate. It is well established that the issue of the Caucasian and the Mongolian do not possess the virtues of either, but develop the vices of both. So physical assimilation is out of the question.

It is well known that the vast majority of Chinese do not bring their wives with them in their immigration because of their purpose to return to their native land when a competency is earned. Their practical status amongst us has been that of single men competing at low wages against not only men of our own race, but men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. They pay little taxes, they support no institutions—neither school, church nor theatre; they persistently violate our laws and have tribunals of their own; they remain steadfastly, after all these years, a permanently foreign element. The purpose, no doubt, for enacting the exclusion laws for periods of ten years is due to the intention of Congress of observing the progress of those people under American institutions, and now it has been clearly demonstrated that they cannot, for the deep and ineradicable reasons of race and mental organization, assimilate with our own people, and be moulded as are other races into strong and composite American stock.

AN UNDESIRABLE IMMIGRATION.

We respectfully represent that their presence excludes a desirable population, and that there is no necessity whatever for their immigration. The immigration laws of this country now exclude pauper and contract labor from every land. All Chinese immigration of the coolie class is both pauper and contract labor. It is not a voluntary immigration. The Six Chinese Companies of California deal in Chinese labor as a commodity. Prior to the exclusion they freely imported coolies, provided for them, farmed out their services and returned them—and their bones, if they should die, pursuant to a superstitious belief—to their native land.

America is the asylum for the oppressed and liberty-loving people of the world, and the implied condition of admission to this country is allegiance to its government and devotion to its institutions. It is hardly necessary to say that the Chinese are not even bona fide settlers, as the Imperial Chinese Consul-General admits.

DESTRUCTIVE COMPETITION.

We respectfully represent that American labor should not be exposed to the destructive competition of aliens who do not, will not, and cannot take up the burdens of American citizenship, whose presence is an economic blight and a patriotic danger. It has been urged that the Chinese are unskilled and that they create wealth in field, mine and forest, which ultimately redounds to the benefit of the white skilled working man. The Chinese are skilled and are capable of almost any skilled employment. They have invaded the cigar, shoe, broom, chemical, clothing, fruit canning, match making, woolen manufacturing industries, and have displaced more than 4,000 white men in these several employments in the City of San Francisco. As common laborers they have throughout California displaced tens of thousands of men. But this country is not solely concerned even in a coldly economic sense with the production of wealth. The United States has now a greater per capita of working energy than any other land. If it is stimulated by a non-assimilative and non-consuming race, there is grave danger of over-production and stagnation. The home market should grow with the population. But the Chinese living on the most meagre food, having no families to support, inured to deprivation, and hoarding their wages for use in their native land, whither they invariably return, cannot in any sense be regarded as consumers. Their earnings do not circulate, nor are they reinvested—contrary to those economic laws, which make for the prosperity of nations. For their services they may be said to be paid twice—first by their employer and then by the community. If we must have protection, is it not far better for us to protect ourselves against the man than against his trade?

WEALTH PRODUCTION AND LABOR PROBLEMS.

Our opponents maintain that the admission of the Chinese would cause an enlargement of our national wealth and a great increase of production, but the distribution of wealth, not its production, is to-day our most serious public question. In this age of science and invention, the production of wealth can well be left to take care of itself. It is its equitable distribution that must now be the concern of the country.

The increasing recurrence of strikes in modern times must have convinced every one that their recent settlement is nothing more than a truce. It is not a permanent industrial peace. The new organization of capital and labor that is now necessary to bring about lasting peace and harmony between those engaged in production will require greater sympathy, greater trust and confidence, and a clearer mutual understanding between the employers and the employed. Any such new organization will require a closer union to be formed between them. Those requirements can never be fulfilled between the individuals of races so alien to one another as ourselves and the Chinese.

The Chinese are only capable of working under the present unsatisfactory system. All progress then to an improved organization of capital and labor would be arrested. We might have greater growth, but never greater development. It was estimated by the Commissioner of Labor that there were a million idle men in the United States in 1886. Certainly the 76,000 Chinese in California at that time stood for 76,000 white men waiting for employment, and the further influx of Chinese in any considerable numbers would precipitate the same condition again, if not, indeed make it chronic. If the United States increases in population at the rate of 12 per cent. per decade, it will have nearly 230,000,000 of people in 100 years. Our inventive genius and the constant improvements being made in machinery will greatly increase our per capita productive capacity. If it be our only aim to increase our wealth and to hold our own in the markets of the world, are we not, without the aid of Chinese coolies, capable of doing it, and at the same time preserve the character of our population and insure the perpetuity of our institutions? It is not wealth at any cost that sound public policy requires, but that the country be developed with equal pace with the growth of a desirable population, which stands not only for industry but also for citizenship.

In their appeal to the cupidity of farmers and orchardists, the proponents of Chinese immigration have stated that the Chinese are only common laborers, and by this kind of argument they have attempted to disarm the skilled labor organizations of the country; but we have shown you that the Chinese are skilled and are capable of becoming skilled. As agriculturists they have crowded out the native population and driven the country boy from the farm to the city, where he meets their skilled competition in many branches of industry; but shall husbandry be abandoned to a servile class? Shall the boys and girls of the fields and of the orchards be deprived of their legitimate work in the harvest? Shall not our farmers be encouraged to look to their own households and to their own neighbors for labor? Shall the easy methods of contract employment be fostered? We are warned by history that the free population of Rome was driven by slave labor from the country into the city, where they became a mob and a rabble, ultimately compassing the downfall of the Republic. The small farms were destroyed, and under an overseer large farms were cultivated, which led Pliny to remark that "great estates ruined Italy."

SERVILE LABOR.—THE WARNINGS OF EXPERIENCE.

The experience of the South with slave labor warns us against unlimited Chinese immigration, considered both as a race question and as an economic problem. The Chinese, if permitted to freely enter this country, would create race antagonisms, which might provoke domestic disturbance. The Caucasian will not tolerate the Mongolian. As ultimately all government is based on physical force, the white population of this country will not, without resistance, suffer themselves to be destroyed. Chinese coolies cannot but be designated as servile labor. It is repugnant to our form of society and to our ideas of government to segregate a labor class and regard it only as its capacity for work. If we were to return to the ante-bellum ideas of the South, now happily discarded, the Chinese would satisfy every requirement of a slave or servile class. They work incessantly; they are docile, and they would not be concerned about their political condition. But such suggestions are opposed to American civilization. America has dignified work and made it honorable. Manhood gives title to rights, and the government, being ruled by majorities, is largely controlled by the very class which servile labor would supersede—the free and independent workingmen of America. The political power invested in men by this government shows the absolute necessity of keeping up the standard of population and not permitting it to deteriorate by contact with inferior and non-assimilative races.

THE PRESERVATION OF OUR CIVILIZATION

But this is not alone a race, labor, and political question. It is one which involves our civilization and appeals to the people of the world. The benefactors, scholars, soldiers and statesmen—the patriots and martyrs of mankind—have builded our modern fabric firmly upon the foundation of religion, law, science and art. It has been rescued from barbarism and protected against the incursions of barbarians. Civilization in Europe has been frequently attacked and imperiled by the barbaric hordes of Asia. If the little band of Greeks at Marathon had not beaten back ten times their number of Asiatic invaders, it is impossible to estimate the loss to civilization that would have ensued. When we contemplate what modern civilization owes to the two centuries of Athenian life, from which we first learned our lessons of civil and intellectual freedom, we can see how necessary it was to keep the Asiatic from breaking into Europe. Attila and his Asiatic hordes threatened Central Europe, when the Gauls made their successful stand against them. The wave of Asiatic barbarism rolled back and civilization was again saved. The repulse of the Turks, who are of the Mongolian race, before Vienna, finally made our civilization strong enough to take care of itself, and the danger of extinction by a military invasion from Asia had passed away. But a peaceful invasion is more dangerous than a warlike attack. We can meet and defend ourselves against an open foe, but an insidious foe, under our generous laws, would be in possession of the citadel before we were aware. The free immigration of Chinese would be for all purposes an invasion by Asiatic barbarians against whom civilization in Europe, fortunately for us, has been frequently defended. It is our inheritance to keep it pure and uncontaminated, as it is our purpose and destiny to broaden and enlarge it. We are trustees for mankind.

BETTERMENT OF CHINA.

In an age when the brotherhood of man has become more fully recognized, we are not prepared to overlook the welfare of the Chinaman himself. We need have nothing on our national conscience, because the Chinaman has a great industrial destiny in his own country. Few realize that China is yet a sparsely populated country. Let its merchants, travelers, teachers and students then come here as before to carry back to China the benefits of our improvements and experiments. Let American ideas of progress and enterprise be planted on Chinese soil. Our commerce with China since 1880 has increased more than 50 per cent. Our consular service (August, 1901) reports that "The United States is second only to Great Britain in goods sold to the Chinese. The United States buys more goods from China than does any other nation, and her total trade with China, exports and imports, equals that of Great Britain, not including the colonies, and is far ahead of that of any other country."

Commerce is not sentimental and has not been affected by our legislation. The Chinese government knowing the necessity of the situation, and being familiar with the fact that almost every country has imposed restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese coolies, does not regard our attitude as an unfriendly act. Indeed, our legislation has been confirmed by treaty. Nor are the Chinese unappreciative of the friendship of the United States, recently displayed in saving possibly the empire from dismemberment. So, therefore, America is at no disadvantage in its commercial dealings with China on account of the domestic policy of Chinese exclusion.

Therefore, every consideration of public duty, the nation's safety and the people's rights, the preservation of our civilization and the perpetuity of our institutions, impel your memorialists to ask for the reenactment of the Exclusion laws, which have for twenty years protected us against the gravest dangers, and which, were they relaxed, would imperil every interest which the American people hold sacred for themselves and their posterity.

RESOLUTIONS.

Your committee further begs leave to report the following resolutions:

First.—Whereas, The Chinese Exclusion Act, known as the "Geary law," will expire by limitation May 24, 1902; and,

Whereas, The treaty between this country and China concerning the restriction of immigration from the latter nation may, under its provisions, expire on March 3, 1904; and,

Whereas, The evils that produced the necessity for the enactment of the present exclusion law and the making of the present treaty with China still exist in our midst, and dangers therefrom are as imminent now as they were when the present barriers were established; and,

Whereas, Unless such barriers are maintained and vigorously guarded, the invasion of Chinese laborers, thereby checked, will expose our people to a renewal thereof, with all its influences inimical to the interest of our wage-earners and injurious to the general welfare; and,

Whereas, The beneficial results flowing from the operation of the said Act have met the expectations of the people in avoiding an increase of Chinese immigration and an aggravation of the many evils thereof; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Chinese Exclusion Convention of the State of California, composed of three thousand delegates representing the State, county and city governments, and industrial and civic organizations in all parts of the State:

First.—That we demand the continuance of existing treaties with China and the re-enactment of the "Geary Exclusion Law."

Second.—That we recommend that the California delegation in Congress act unitedly in the presentation of the bill to accomplish the purpose hereinbefore set forth and use their utmost endeavor to secure its immediate enactment into law. (Great applause.)

SENATOR DAVIS.—I move that the Memorial as reported by the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions, and the resolutions as reported from the Committee, be adopted; and that a certified copy, certified by the Chairman and Secretary of the convention be transmitted to the President of the United States, the members of the Cabinet, and the Senators and Representatives in Congress.

MR. WALTER MACARTHUR.—I desire to second the motion.

SENATOR DAVIS.—Before you proceed with your remarks, Mr. Macarthur, I will state that there is a supplemental report on another subject that will be read later.

ADDRESS OF WALTER MACARTHUR.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: As one of the labor representatives on the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions, I desire to set forth the position taken by the representatives of organized labor on that committee in this particular matter. The memorial and the resolutions we believe fairly set forth the views and the wishes of organized labor on the question of Chinese exclusion. In some respects they may not be as radical as some of us would have desired. I do not doubt but that in the view of some of the men in the labor movement of the State they may be a little too radical; but we know that it is impossible to meet all views, and so we have done what we considered was best to strike a happy mean, and assure general satisfaction to the workers of the State of California in this regard. We believe that the memorial itself sets forth in fairly concise and clear language, the salient evils of Chinese immigration, and we believe that the resolutions, by insisting in specific terms upon the re-enactment of the Geary Exclusion Act, will assure for the next ten years at least the continuance of the legislation which has in the past, proved a fairly effective barrier against Chinese immigration. That, we feel assured, is a good deal gained. There were some of us who believed at the outset of this campaign that we ought to include other matters in the Chinese Exclusion Act. For instance, some of us were of the opinion that we ought to make it extend over all of the territory of the United States, including the Philippine Islands; that we ought to make it perpetual in operation; that we ought to do other things in connection with the Chinese question. But it appears from the general sentiment that now prevails, as we can gather it, that these views are inexpedient; that they are in all probability a little too advanced. And we believe that the sentiments as outlined in the memorial and in the resolutions will convey to the delegation from this State to Congress a distinct understanding that if the opportunity affords to in any way improve upon the Geary Exclusion Act, to add anything to it, without at the same time risking any loss to the present law, our delegation will be authorized to proceed to work for the adoption of such improvements. But this ground we stand upon with perfect safety, that we insist upon the re-enactment of the present law, with all its virtues and with all its faults, and when we have got that we know just exactly what we have got, and where we stand. (Applause.)

I desire to say that the labor movement of the State of California has not come into this movement with the opening of this convention. There is no man in the labor movement of this State, or any other State, who does not know that organized labor stands as the historic foe of Chinese and of all other kinds of cheap and servile labor. There is no man who does not know that organized labor stands to-day as the great, as the most powerful, as the most effective, exponent of the principles of honorable American labor. There is no man who does not know that notwithstanding the protection given us by such legislation as the Geary Exclusion Act, its effect would amount to very little if it were not for the constant watchfulness of the organized workers of the State and nation, who by their insistence, their jealous care for their own rights and the welfare of the country at large, have seen to the enforcement of that kind of legislation.

Looking at the matter from that point of view, as a representative of organized labor, I think that we can take credit to ourselves for the success of this convention, and take a particular pride in contemplating the ultimate results of this great work, and regard ourselves as in some degree distinguished among the citizens of the State and of the Nation in the great work for the preservation of American ideals and American civilization. (Applause.)

Eight months ago the San Francisco Labor Council, appreciating the fact that the Geary Exclusion Act was about to expire, instructed its Law and Legislative Committee to devise ways and means of securing the sense of the people of the State upon that question. A committee report was drawn up and adopted and circulated throughout the State, accompanied by a petition with a request that the citizens of the State affix to it their sentiments on the subject. That petition at this day contains fully 25,000 signatures. The San Francisco Labor Council has to that extent sounded the sentiments of the people of the State on the question.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that this great gathering, this great convention, this, the most representative body that has ever assembled in the State of California, is an absolute assurance to us that not only 25,000 but a million and a half, the entire population of the State of California, are to-day in favor of re-enacting the Geary Exclusion Act. (Applause.)

Yesterday there were a number of addresses made here by different gentlemen representing different interests, and some things that were said did not jibe exactly with the views of certain other interests which were present. Now, while I do not propose to speak in a critical vein in reference to anything that was said here, I do believe that under all the circumstances, Mr. Chairman, it is desirable that when statements are made by any particular interest, or the representative of any particular interest in this hall, which do not meet the approval, or somehow seem to conflict with other interests represented here, we might as well be given the right to present both sides of the case. Yesterday a statement was made that we wanted the people of Europe to come to the State of California and to the United States. It is the position of the organized labor movement of the United States that there are now people enough here from Europe. (Applause.) It must be distinctly understood that we are not in the business of excluding Chinamen to make room for the pauper labor of Southern Europe, or any other section of the world. A gentleman, Mr. Sbarboro—unfortunately he is not present now (I wish he was), because I am entirely certain he would appreciate every word that I say, and feel very thankful to me for saying it—Mr. Sbarboro, President of the Employers' Association (I beg pardon, of the Manufacturers' and Producers' Association), in a very poetical oration, in which he alluded to the sturdy Scotchman whose integrity is as high as the Highlands, and a whole lot of other poetical phrases of the kind, spoke of the men from Ireland who come to our country and build it up and "populate" it. Now, the idea seemed to strike a vein of merriment. It seemed to arouse the risibilities of this audience; but I don't think if Mr. Sbarboro were down on Minna or Jessie street, raising a very large family, that he would see very much fun in that kind of joke. (Laughter and applause.) I don't think that the son of Erin should be singled out when it comes down to making charges against people on account of over-zealousness in the matter of creating jobs for census enumerators. (Laughter.)

I am advised that the sons and daughters of sunny Italy, those of Mr. Sbarboro's own nationality, can hold up their own end when it comes to that. (Laughter and applause.) If there is any stranger in San Francisco who doesn't believe me, let him take a walk around Telegraph Hill. (Laughter and Applause.)

And now, Mr. Chairman, there was another statement made yesterday, and it has been reiterated to some extent, and made a part and parcel of the memorial. It is a point which I think ought to be made perfectly straight before the public of this State, of the United States, and of the world, and that is the question of commerce. How far do the commercial interests and the commercial instincts of the United States and of this State affect the position of organized labor? In a word, how far are we affected by the consideration that if we pass a Chinese Exclusion Act we may possibly lose a few thousand dollars in trade? My position, and the position of organized labor, as I have gathered it in a somewhat extensive association in that movement, is this: That we are willing to lose every dollar of trade with China to preserve our citizenship and the ideals of American life. We take the position that if the commerce of China, notwithstanding its increase since the Geary Exclusion Act was passed, had increased ten times as much as it has, or a thousand times as much as it has, if to preserve that trade we would have to endanger the welfare of a single solitary

American citizen, man, woman or child, we are willing to sacrifice it all, every dollar of it. (Applause.)

Do not take this as being in disregard of or in opposition or hostility to the manufacturing or commercial interests of the United States. Not at all. There is no class of people that is more concerned in the welfare of our country, and there is no class who can discuss the question more intelligently than the organized workers. We take this ground, that if the United States cannot trade with China, it can trade with California (applause); that if California cannot sell her products to the Chinaman, she can sell them to the Californian (applause); and that we need not go chasing will-o'-the-wisps across the Pacific Ocean to look for trade, to look for people to buy our products there, when we have plenty of them right within the domain of the United States if they can only get the wherewithal to buy them. (Applause.) And if the Empress of China gets on her ear and says she doesn't want to play with the United States, we will say all right, we will then devise ways and means by which we can increase our home markets, and give work and a good living to every citizen worker in the United States, without the commerce of China, or of any other country, so far as that is concerned. (Applause.)

In discussing the Chinese question, I notice that some gentlemen take what might be called a somewhat equivocal stand. They don't seem to be particularly enthusiastic in the matter. They don't seem to understand that this Chinese question is a serious affair with us, and that we are prepared to solve it to the last pig-tail (laughter and applause); that we are not satisfied, Mr. Chairman, to pass some sort of legislation that will gradually and gently decrease the number of Chinamen; that if we had it in our power, if we could get the people of the United States to support us, if we could open their eyes to the gravity of the situation, we would enact a law that would clean the Chinaman out of the United States and out of the sight of California in one day.

One speaker, whom I have already quoted, said yesterday, in reference to the proposition to issue bonds for school-houses, hospitals, sewers and other public improvements, that there was no public improvement so desirous and so necessary at this time as the removal of Chinatown to the southern section of San Francisco. I hold, Mr. Chairman, and I believe that the people of the Potrero, of South San Francisco, and of the Tar Flats will support me, that we would just as soon have Chinatown up on Nob Hill as anywhere else. (Applause.) If it comes to moving Chinatown southward, let us move it into Mexico, and let Mexico move it into Peru, and Peru into Chile, and Chile into Patagonia, if they want to, but don't let us stop at the Tar Flats. (Applause.)

Now, the hour is getting late, and I understand it is the idea of this convention that we should get through with our business by 6 o'clock, or some time early in the evening, so as to obviate the necessity of holding an evening session, I desire simply to say in conclusion, that in moving the adoption of this memorial and resolutions, and speaking as a representative of organized labor of this State, that we are following in the line, the historic line, the clearly defined line of the labor movement of the United States of America. From the American Federation of Labor downward to the smallest local union in the most distant hamlet of the country, the organized workers have declared themselves in favor of Chinese exclusion. They have carried on a systematic campaign for the accomplishment of that idea, and when we take the stand here in favor of that plan, we are simply standing in line with, in the solid phalanx of the movement to accomplish the preservation not only of the industrial character of the American people, but their social and political character, and the preservation of American ideals and American civilization. I thank you. (Applause.)

(The motion that the Memorial and Resolutions reported by the committee be adopted was then carried by a unanimous vote of the convention.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from Amador has another resolution which he will read to the convention.

SENATOR DAVIS.—Your Committee on Memorial and Resolutions has a supplemental report of resolutions that I will now read:

As a supplemental report, the committee presented the following which was unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, We recognize in the character and rapidly increasing numbers of Japanese and other Asiatic immigrants a menace to the industrial interests of our people; and.

Whereas, We believe that the time has arrived when cognizance should be taken of this condition; therefore be it

Resolved, By the California Chinese Exclusion Convention that the question of Japanese and other Asiatic immigration be referred to the Executive Committee of this Convention, with instructions to devise and pursue such steps as may be necessary and advisable to secure all possible protection from the evils herein set forth.

SENATOR DAVIS.—I move the adoption of the resolution.

(The motion was duly seconded, and the resolution was adopted.)

SENATOR DAVIS.—Your committee further presents the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Chinese Exclusion Convention, with the consent of the Committee, be authorized to appoint a committee of not more than five to represent the Executive Committee of this convention and its declared purposes in Washington and to co-operate with the Representatives in Congress.

SENATOR DAVIS.—I move the adoption of that resolution.

The motion was duly seconded and the resolution was adopted by the convention.

(In accordance with the foregoing resolution, Hon. Thos. J. Geary, Chairman of the said Executive Committee, appointed the following committee of five to represent the said Executive Committee and the purposes of said convention at Washinton, viz.: Mayor Jas. D. Phelan, Truxton Beale, Andrew Furuseth, Hon. J. H. Budd and Edward J. Livernash. And thereafter at a regular meeting of said Executive Committee, on motion duly made and seconded, the appointment of said committee of five by said Chairman was duly consented to and ratified and confirmed and the above-named five committeemen were granted full power and authority to represent said Executive Committee and the purposes of said convention at Washington and to co-operate with the California Delegation in Congress.)

DELEGATE A. CAMINETTI.—I desire to present to the convention the following resolution:

Whereas, The press of the United States has given signal evidence of its friendship for our people in the contest for the re-enactment of the Geary law; and,

Whereas, Its continued support constitutes one of the main pillars of our strength; therefore, be it

Resolved, By this convention, that its thanks are hereby extended to the press of the country for its valuable aid.

Be it further resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Convention appoint a Press Committee to prepare and furnish to the press of the United States as necessity therefor arises, matter for publication during the campaign for the continuance of the present barriers against Chinese immigration.

MR. CAMINETTI.—I move the adoption of the resolution without reference to the committee.

(Motion duly seconded and resolution adopted.)

DELEGATE ROSENBERG.—I move you that a copy of the memorial and resolutions be forwarded to Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, to be read at its next convention.

(The motion was duly seconded and carried.)

On motion, duly seconded, the convention voted its thanks to the Chairman and the other officers of the convention, and to its committees.

On motion, duly seconded, the convention decided to invite the cooperation of our sister States in the passage of a Chinese exclusion law.

SENATOR DAVIS.—Gentlemen of the Convention: Now that you have adopted the magnificent memorial which you heard read from the platform to-day, let me state to you that it was the work of Mayor James D. Phelan of this town, acting as a sub-committee of one of your Committee on Memorial and Resolutions. (Cheers and great applause.)

MAYOR PHELAN.—Mr. Chairman, I desire at this time to call the attention of the convention to the fact that it was Mr. Samuel Braunhart who originated and planned the idea of the Exclusion Convention; and I will suggest that he be invited to take the platform.

MR. SAMUEL BRAUNHART.—Mr. Chairman, I was about to make a motion.

(Cries of "Platform, Platform!" and Mr. Braunhart took the platform in the midst of great enthusiasm and applause.)

MR. BRAUNHART.—Gentlemen of the Convention: I thank you very kindly for this reception, but I simply desire to announce that I rose in my seat for the purpose of moving that the distinguished statesman from Los Angeles, Robert N. Bulla, be invited to address this convention; and I now make that motion.

(The motion was duly seconded and carried.)

ADDRESS OF ROBERT N. BULLA OF LOS ANGELES.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am only going to say from the stage what I might have said from my seat, that I do not think this is the time for me to make any remarks to this convention. In the first place, in company with some other devoted souls, I was at work until 2 o'clock this morning on the memorial and resolutions, and we have also been at work all day upon them, with what success you have just heard; and I will only say in addition to that that I want to emphasize the importance and the necessity of continued watchfulness on the part of the Executive Committee of this convention. I never have yet known a cause so just or so good in itself that it would care for itself. It must have attention, constant attention, and unceasing and energetic attention, to make it succeed. Down in Southern California our people made a great effort to secure the improvement of our harbor, and we never would have succeeded, notwithstanding we had the assistance of that great and brilliant soul who has been called to his fathers, the Hon. Stephen M. White (applause), had we not given ourselves entirely for days and weeks and months to the effort to secure what we felt we were entitled to. And so I say to you don't feel, because we have had this magnificent convention here, with all its great enthusiasm, that our work in ended. The work has simply commenced, and its final success will depend upon the committee which you select to attend at Washington to assist our Representatives.

I believe that the Congressional delegation from the State of California is able, and I know that it will be watchful for the purpose of carrying out the objects of this convention. But I say to you, that with all the multifarious duties that will be imposed upon them in the City of Washington, they will need assistance from the outside. They must have it in order to succeed as we expect them to succeed in the efforts which we have inaugurated here to-day. And so the crowning effort of this convention should be in the selection of a proper committee composed of earnest and enthusiastic men to attend at Washington to assist our delegation there in carrying out the purposes of this convention. I thank you very kindly, gentlemen, for calling upon me. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, I now take great pleasure in introducing to you Rev. Father Yorke, who will address you. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF REV. PETER C. YORKE.

Gentlemen: I do not know whether I owe you an apology for coming at such a short notice, or whether you owe me an apology for asking me to come on such short notice. It was only a few minutes ago that the request was put to me to speak to this convention, and while I should be very glad to say something to it that might be of use to you, and a benefit to the community, I hardly think that with the few moments I have had to collect my thoughts that what I may say can be of any particular use. It can be only of this use, namely, that it is the voice of one who is sincerely in sympathy with your efforts, and who believes that the present occasion and the present convention are fraught with the greatest and most momentous consequences to this State of California. (Applause.)

They tell us in the books which children study in school, that once upon a time the City of Rome was threatened by the Etruscans. They had appeared on the west bank of the river to destroy the infant Republic and to bring back the hated power of the kings. We read in the ballads how the Consuls of the city and their council, went to the river gate and there held a deliberation; not for a long time, for there was no time then for music or debate; and the result of their counsel was that the bridge should straight go down, because if the Etruscan army once gained the bridge there was nothing that could save the City of Rome from the power of despotism. And it is much in the same way that you now, representatives of all the estates of California, are gathered here to take counsel with regard to this threatened invasion from the West, which invasion threatens our civilization, threatens our institutions, and I believe that your sentiment and the sentiments of every man certainly west of the Rocky Mountains is that if this country is to be saved to Christianity and to the white man, "The bridge must straight go down." (Applause.)

I say that it is necessary for us to save this country to civilization. There are two elements which make up civilization. One element is the idea that the civilized man has in his mind, and the other is the condition of labor. There are two things that make a country civilized or uncivilized; and the one is the way men have of looking at life, and the other one is the way we have of treating those who work.

Now, with regard to the idea which men have before them. This country has unreservedly committed itself to the Christian idea. We are not a colony of Asia or of Africa; we are a colony of Europe. The motherland of the United States is Europe, and the races which have made the civilization of Europe have given their children who are making the civilization of America. They are practically all of the same blood. They differ in languages, they differ in institutions, and they differ in laws, but the real similarity that underlies all their differences is proved in this country, where hardly do they enter the gates of Castle Garden than they are fit to take their places in the civilization of America, and when their children come out of our schools they cannot be distinguished from the children of those whose ancestors have been here for the sixth and the seventh generation.

Now, people of such a class are welcome visitors to this country, because they come here to obey its laws. They come here to help out its institutions, and they come here to be assimilated with the people. We are all one people, and although we may look back with a certain love and sentiment to the land from which we are sprung, this thing is true of every one of us that when we come here we come here to be Americans in the fullest and brightest sense that the word is capable of meaning, and that we give our fullest and most unreserved allegiance to the stars and stripes which protect us. (Applause.)

Now, then, in this country, as I have stated, the ideal is a Christian ideal. That is to say, we stand for certain things in morals; we stand for certain things in private life, we stand for certain things in public life. We may differ as to dogmas, we may differ as to creeds, but taking us all in all, on the great broad plane of Christianity, the law of this country is on a Christian basis. The decisions of the courts of this country are guided by the Christian sentiment, and the people of this country are determined that that Christian sentiment shall remain as the salt which will preserve this land, we hope, until time shall be much older than it is now, (Applause.)

Now, then, we are face to face with an immigration which is emphatically not Christian. I have nothing to say about the ideals or about the morality of the Chinese. They may be very good in their own place, and that is in China (laughter), but, as somebody has defined dirt as matter out of place, so we may say that the virtues of the Chinese, be they never so great, and never so fitting for their own country, are out of place in this. (Laughter and applause.)

Their thoughts are not our thoughts; their blood is not our blood; their outlook is not our outlook. They have a different way of looking at things. And they have this, gentlemen, which is the most important of all—they have such a power of numbers that what perhaps they might not be able to accomplish by the superiority of their morality, or by their more acute ingenuity, they can do by brute force. The greatest man that ever lived is powerless against the force of the elements. It was a great and powerful king who stood before the advancing waves of the sea and said to them, "Thus far, and no farther;" and the sea poured over him and his royalty. It is the same with us. We may be in the lead of all the nations, we may have the most acute intellects, we may have the highest education, but what are we against this great sea which is beating now upon our shores, which is rising as a tidal wave, and which, if we do not build up our battlements high and strong may overwhelm us and everything we hold dear. (Applause.)

So then, gentlemen, because the Chinese civilization is not our civilization—because their ideas and their outlook are different from ours—because they would build up here something that would be entirely contradictory to our institutions, that is the first reason why every American, no matter whether he lives upon the Pacific Coast or the Atlantic, by the shores of the Great Lakes, or by the shores of the Gulf, is bound to stand with California and with the Pacific States in their demand that a wall be built up against Chinese immigration. (Applause.)

Now, the second element of the civilization is the condition of labor. Rich men are the same all the world over. A rich man in China lives pretty much as well as a rich man in New York. The rich men in the old Roman Empire had their luxuries just the same as the rich men now. What rich men do, what rich men eat, what rich men drink, what rich men wear, have nothing at all to do with civilization. The test of civilization is how the laborer is treated. You have an uncivilized country when it is in bonds. You have a civilized country where the laboring man is a free man, with his rights respected, and with a fair wage paid to him for a fair day's labor. (Applause.) Unless you have such ideals as that in a country it is not a civilized country in the sense which Christianity makes for civilization.

Now, America has always stood for the fact that all men are equal; that is to say equal before the law; equal in their opportunities. They may not be equal in the things they have inherited from their father. They may not be equal in the natural or acquired qualities of mind. But they are equal before the law, and they have equal rights in the presence of the State. Now, the laborer requires, in order to have equal rights, that he be a free man, that he be not the property of any lord of labor, that he be not owned by any man, that he be free to give his labor, or not to give it, as he wishes, and that he have some say in the condition of the country. America has always stood for this by its great privilege of universal suffrage, by the many laws in favor of labor which have been placed upon the statute books, and it has stood for it by the express sentiment of the people, time and time again, insisting that laboring men shall not have their hands shackled, but when they work they shall work freely. (Applause.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it may be true that if you allow labor to come in here that can be managed in great masses, if you deal with the laboring men who will not strike and who don't want to strike, you will deal with the laboring men who will work for very small wages and who will live on things that the rats would starve on. It may be true that if you do this you may create great fortunes for certain people, you may develop certain parts of the country, you may have a great export of fruit, you may have for a time a certain kind of prosperity, getting labor which is cheap and which is easily managed, but while you have that labor building up great fortunes what is happening to the white laboring man? The white laboring man finds it hard enough now to make ends meet in competition with those of his own kind. What should he do if he had to enter into competition with those who are emphatically not of his own kind? The white man finds it hard enough now to get anything like a fair return from his labor, from those who are engaged in employing labor. That is the nature of things. How could he hope to get anything at all when there would be in competition with him men who would work for a mere pittance—who would work for a mere livelihood, and who would be glad to work for it. Surely, gentlemen, the position of the laboring man in this matter is the most important, is the most serious aspect of the case. We have to consider him above all things. If California to-morrow were flooded with Chinese, the rich men could move to New York, but the poor men would have to stay here or starve. (Applause.)

Now, the question is, shall we, for the benefit of a very few men, shall we, for the benefit of certain parts of the State which will gain only a little temporary prosperity, destroy the prospects of the laboring man all over the country? This is a country for free men. This is a country for men who know their rights. This is a country for men who recognize that their highest God-given privilege is the privilege of free will, is the privilege to call their souls their own. If we are to have this country for men like that, we must keep men out of it who do not believe in the rights of free men, who do not believe they have a soul to call their own, and who do not care what becomes of this great white civilization that has been built up with such care, with such expenditure of brains and energy, and who only look to the day and to the rice which is the food of the day. (Applause.)

It would be simply carrying coals to Newcastle, it would simply be throwing water on a drowned rat, to try to prove to you hard-headed men of business and of the world, who know where your own interests lie, that if you allow free ingress to the Chinese immigration, very soon the white laborers, the men who are working under the present conditions, will be cleaned out of the country. More than that; even if you allow the incoming of the Chinese in anything like an increased quantity, it means that for everyone that comes in from the West you would keep out half a dozen from the East.

After all, California is very sparsely settled. It has thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of acres yet, which may smile like a garden, and where the home of the American citizen may arise, a temple of liberty. It is a great and bounteous land, with arms stretched out to the cold chill forbidding East asking people to come here and live in happiness and prosperity. Shall you erect upon the Sierras the yellow flag that is the sign of infection and of plague? Shall you erect upon the topmost peak of those barriers between us and the East a warning to your brothers afar off that they may not expect here the treatment due to men, or the wages due to men, or the right to live like men? (Applause.)

If you falter in this matter, if you compromise, if you do not stand shoulder to shoulder, if you allow any petty recriminations or little jealousies to interfere with you, that will be the sentiment that will go out to the East, that California wants the Chinaman; at least that it is not united in its determination to keep them out. From this convention—constituted it may be not by popular election, but certainly by popular opinion—must go out the watchword that the manhood of California wants protection. (Applause.) We want protection against a danger that we are not able to cope with alone. It is not the act of a coward, gentlemen, to confess, when an overwhelming danger confronts one, that he is not able to cope with it. After all, this State cannot, if the doors are thrown wide open, cope with this yellow peril. It will overwhelm us. It will submerge us. And then truly our brethren in the East will find out that they have planted here a plague spot which it may take many years and much treasure and the expenditure of much blood to eradicate. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

When a man is in good health, if a foreign body lodges in his anatomy, immediately it sets up an inflammation, the warning of its presence and that it must be sought for and cast out. And so it is with this agitation now against the foreign body in our body politic, it is the sign to the whole country that there is something there which is dangerous to our civil life, and which must be cast out.

Let me say in conclusion: Do not wonder that a Catholic priest should speak thus to you. It has oftentimes been charged that those who speak against the Chinese immigration are forgetful of the brotherhood of man. It is often charged that their attitude is unchristian. It is often charged that they should welcome all these nations to their shores and to try to civilize them. Gentlemen, the grace of God is a very powerful thing, but the grace of God, it has been said, never gave any man common sense. (Laughter and applause.)

And no doubt the people who urge these things, who urge these beautiful, high moral principles, are men who are filled with the grace of the Lord, and have nothing but high and holy aspirations; but we would wish that their aspirations would be a little lower, and that they would have a little more common sense. (Applause and laughter.)

This is not the first time that men of European blood have been faced by the same peril. Away back in the eighth and the ninth and the tenth centuries, Europe herself was menaced by an Oriental invasion. Then it was that Mohammedanism, coming out from the deserts of Arabia, set her face to the west and threw down the cross and set the crescent in its place. Later on, the Turks, who are but little removed from the Chinese, coming from the deserts of Central Asia, pushed on into Europe and captured Constantinople. At that time, the highest moral authority in Europe, the Pope of Rome—for then all were of one faith—called together the kings of the great powers, to declare a holy war to roll back the tide of unchristianity and anti-christian invasion from the shores of Europe. Then it was that the men of Europe, our forefathers, our ancestors, put on their coats of mail, and put the cross upon their arms, and went out into a foreign land and fought the fight of Christ, and saved Europe to Christianity. And there they saved our Christian civilization, and they are the men who made it possible for us to be free men to-day. (Applause.)

Whether a Catholic priest or a Protestant minister, or a layman who rejoices in the blessings of the American Constitution, every one of us knows that these blessings were not the product of a single day, but that they are the heritage of all the ages; that they were won for us by our forefathers. Whether you be a priest, or minister, or layman, it is your privilege, and it is your duty, to feel as crusaders of old felt, and not be ashamed, if in our day another crusade is necessary to save this land, fairer than any land in Europe, and a civilization higher than the civilization of the middle ages, for the people who built it up and for their children after them. (Cheers and great applause.)

(Three cheers were then given for Hon. Thomas J. Geary, and three cheers for Father Yorke, and the convention adjourned.)

APPENDIX.

CHINESE IN THE SEAFARING TRADES.

To the California State Chinese Exclusion Convention—

Gentlemen: The undersigned organizations, representing the maritime trades in the ports of this State and the Pacific Coast, and comprising the great majority of the men employed in those trades, respectfully submit the following particulars regarding the employment of Chinese labor in the shipping industry:

All the steam vessels regularly engaged in the trade between San Francisco and Asiatic ports employ Chinese and Japanese exclusively in the deck, engineers' and stewards' departments. There are three main lines, i. e., the Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company, the Toyo Kasen Kaisha and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Of these the first named is a British concern, the second Japanese, and the third American. The Japanese line employs Japanese, shipped in Yokohama. The British and American lines employ Chinese, shipped in Hongkong at the rate of wages prevailing in that port.

The wages per month are: Japanese deckhands, 16 to 18 yen (approximately $8 to $9); Japanese firemen, 13 to 18 yen (approximately $6.50 to $9); Chinese deckhands, $15 Mexican silver (approximately $7.50); Chinese firemen, $15 to $18, Mexican silver (approximately $7.50 to $9). Wages in the stewards' departments of the various lines are proportionately lower than these figures.

The monthly wages of American crews in these lines would average from $20 in the stewards' departments to $40 in the engineers' departments. In all there are from nine to twelve vessels employed by these lines out of San Francisco, and they carry, all told, from one thousand to fifteen hundred Chinese and Japanese.

It is contended by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and other American lines that it would be impossible for them to employ and pay white help in competition with foreign lines in the same trade employing Chinese and Japanese. In reply to this we submit that upon a fair trial it would be demonstrated that the reduction possible in the number of men employed under an American labor system and the much greater individual efficiency of the latter, would fully offset the increase in the rate of wages.

We would further point to the notorious unreliability of the Chinese and other Asiatics in times of emergency on shipboard. This characteristic has been demonstrated on numerous occasions, in fact in every case of wreck or other serious accident. By way of illustration we would cite the case of the collision between the steamers City of Chester and Oceanic in the Golden Gate some years ago. The former vessel, manned by American seamen, sank, with great loss of life. The Oceanic (chartered by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company), though little damaged, rendered practically no assistance to the sinking vessel, for the reason that her Chinese crew became terror-stricken and were unable to launch the boats. The American seamen and firemen of the City of Chester had actually to make their way to the Chinese-manned vessel and launch the latter's boats, and by so doing managed to save many lives that would otherwise have been lost through the inefficiency and cowardice of the Chinese.

Coming down to the recent loss of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamer, City of Rio de Janeiro, in the harbor of San Francisco, it will be remembered that that vessel remained above water for fifteen or twenty minutes after striking, thus afforing ample time to get the boats overboard and secure the lives of the passengers. In this case, too, a panic occurred among the Chinese crew, with the result that 127 lives were lost, including the greater number of passengers, many of whom were women and children. Only one boat was launched, and that was captured by the Chinese, in utter disregard of the lives entrusted to their care. The same evil has been further demonstrated in the case of the recent breakdown at sea of the U. S. Army transport Arab. All the evidence goes to prove that Asiatic crews are not only worthless in themselves in moments of emergency, but also a serious incumbrance to the whites in the effort to save life and property. These facts are well known to the maritime world and to the public, and should require no further elaboration here.

The shipment of Chinese crews on American vessels is a violation not only of the spirit, but also, we believe, of the letter, of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The maritime law under which the Chinese are shipped provides, in general, that crews may be engaged in a foreign port for one or more round voyages. Under this law the Chinese are shipped in Hongkong, brought to the United States, and then returned to China, where they are discharged. For the convenience of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company at San Francisco, a deputy U. S. Shipping Commissioner is stationed on the Company's dock to facilitate the shipping business between the Company and the Government, thus actually conferring a privilege in this respect upon the Company in question and furthering its interests as an employer of Chinese labor. It is a maxim of maritime law that an American vessel is part of the territory of the United States at all times, and therefore subject to the laws of that country. We therefore believe that the shipment of Chinese on an American vessel in a foreign port, notwithstanding they are prohibited from landing in the United States proper, amounts in effect to admitting them to the United States.

We would therefore urge that this convention declare itself in favor of the insertion in the proposed Exclusion Act of a provision prohibiting the engagement of Chinese or other Asiatics in any capacity on any vessel under the American flag.

Respectfully,

(Seal.) JOHN KEAN,
Secretary pro tem. Sailors' Union of the Pacific.
November 18th, 1901.

(Seal.) JOHN BELL,
Secretary Pacific Coast Marine Firemen's Union.

(Seal.) EUGENE STEIDLE,
Secretary Marine Cooks and Stewards' Assoc'n,
November 20th, 1901.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 13th, 1901.

To the Officers and Members of the Chinese Exclusion Convention:

The undersigned delegates from the Cooks' and Waiters' Alliance, Local No. 30, find on investigation that their craft is more affected by the Chinese than any other in the State of California, and are therefore unanimous throughout the State to have the Chinese Exclusion Act re-enacted. We find that in the City and County of San Francisco alone there are upwards of six thousand (6,000) Chinese filling the places of cooks, waiters, waitresses, porters and domestics.

In the interior we find the case more serious. Once outside the boundary line of Alameda and San Francisco it is a rare occasion to find a white employee in any kitchen, and in some cases they are found in the dining-room. In many counties of the State they are engaged in the restaurant business themselves, and being enabled to live on so little and so cheaply and to use their place of business as a place of abode, they have completely driven their white competitors out of the field.

It is estimated that there are employed in the interior of California upwards of nine thousand five hundred (9,500) Chinese, encroaching on our craft, making a sum total in this State of sixteen thousand (16,000). Our condition of affairs in 1891 was much worse than at present, and was improved by the Exclusion Act of that year.

Therefore were the Exclusion Act not re-enacted at the next session of Congress it would cause an unlimited influx of Chinese, and our craft, as well as all others, would be relegated back to their former condition and worse. It behooves this convention and is the wish and desire of Local No. 30 and every other local in our craft throughout this State, that this convention devise suitable ways and means at once to secure an extension of the provisions of the Exclusion Act and to memorialize Congress to act immediately in the premises.

Hereunto appended find resolutions passed at a regular meeting of Local No. 30, Cooks' and Waiters' Alliance, held at their headquarters, No. 316 O'Farrell street, on Wednesday evening, November 13th, 1901.

W. L. CAUDLE,
H. H. HOFFMAN,
CHAS. D. LAUGHLIN,
Committee.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT A REGULAR MEETING OF THE COOKS' AND WAITERS' ALLIANCE, LOCAL NO. 30, HELD NOVEMBER 13th, 1901.

Whereas, The Geary law, otherwise known as the "Chinese Exclusion Act," will expire in the near future, and unless Congress, during the next session, re-enact the provisions contained in the said Geary law, the bars heretofore existing against Chinese immigration will be removed and our country, particularly the Pacific Coast, will be exposed to all evil effects growing out of the unrestricted influx of "coolie" Asiatic labor; and

Whereas, Our craft is particularly exposed to the competition from this alien labor in kitchen, dining-room and private service; and

Whereas, Unrestricted immigration of Asiatic people threatens to drive many citizens of this country—heads of families and women now gaining an independent livelihood—from their accustomed occupations, thereby diminishing the security of our homes and removing yet further the prospect of establishing happy homes for ourselves in which to rear worthy citizens of our country; and

Whereas, We believe such an injection of Asiatic influence into our body politic is detrimental to the happiness and welfare of the great mass of the American workingmen, making them less fit to bear their rightful share of the responsibilities of an advancing civilization which we believe is destined to lead all mankind upward in the process of evolution; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we use every honorable means and assist to our utmost every honorable effort made by others to secure the re-enactment of the so-called Geary law; and be it further

Resolved, That we deem it necessary and expedient that the provisions of the Geary law be extended to all Asiatic people seeking to exploit the American labor field, or who may be used by unscrupulous employers on this continent to displace their employees of other races.

W. L. CAUDLE,
H. H. HOFFMAN,
CHAS. D. LAUGHLIN,
Committee.

LAUNDRY WORKERS' UNION NO. 55, OF ALAMEDA COUNTY.

We, the members of the above Union, in mass meeting assembled, emphatically demand the re-enactment of the law known as the Geary Exclusion Act, as we firmly believe that our craft and the business of our employers is imperiled without its re-enactment, as is evident to all concerned. Coolie labor is the greatest competitor existing to either laundry workers or laundry proprietors. There are at present hundreds and hundreds of men and women, boys and girls, of the Caucasian race employed in the various laundries, both steam and hand, throughout the Pacific Coast, and should the bars of Chinese immigration be lowered and our Golden State invaded by hordes of Mongolians, it is fearful to contemplate the destitution, misery and want that, as a consequence, would naturally follow in its wake, for it would be utterly impossible for our employers to cope and compete with the Asiatic cheap labor, and the result would be that hundreds of our Caucasian laundry workers would be forced out of employment and driven to the wall by the coolie labor invasion.

Therefore we earnestly believe that our only salvation, and that of our employers, also, is the re-enactment of the Exclusion Act; and to that end we insist and demand that our representatives in Congress, with pen and voice, use their best endeavors to bring about the re-enactment of the Geary Chinese Exclusion Act. Respectfully,

ARTHUR V. O'NEILL,
Committeeman Alameda County Laundry Workers' Union No. 55, Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union.

CLOAKMAKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 8, INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 19, 1901.

Mr. H. A. Mason, Secretary of Committee of Arrangements of Chinese Exclusion Convention, City—

Dear Sir: In accordance with your request, I hereby forward to you a statement adopted at our last regular meeting, November 19, 1901, showing the effects of Asiatic competition on the ladies' garment making trades. We respectfully request you to lay this before the convention to be held in this city on November 20, 1901, in Metropolitan Hall, for the purpose of urging Congress not to allow the Chinese Exclusion Act to expire without enacting a new and more stringent law which will permanently exclude from this country all Asiatic labor, Chinese, Japanese and all others.

Although a Chinese Exclusion law is at present in force, thousands of Chinese and Japanese—who are just as objectionable—have, during the past few years, entered this State in great numbers and have, much to the detriment of the Caucasian inhabitants, taken up trades and occupations which the latter engage in for the purpose of procuring the means by which they live.

Wherever the Asiatic has so come into competition with the Caucasian, he has been successful in getting more and more the upper hand, not by any means because he is more skillful, but because he continues to live in blessed California on the same meager rations, in hovels just as dirty and in rags just as filthy, as he has been accustomed to in his native land, and is, therefore, able to work cheaper, live cheaper and, for that matter, to die cheaper than his white neighbors.

Amongst other occupations successfully taken up by the Asiatics—garment making, especially ladies' garment making, some branches of which, such as the making of silk and linen shirt waists, petticoats, duck skirts and the lower grades of suits, capes and cloaks—he has practically monopolized.

It is a well known fact to all who are acquainted with the conditions of our trade, that some of our leading merchants and fashionable ladies' tailors have a good deal of their work done, either partly or wholly, by Chinese and Japanese. The consequence is that, all told, only about a thousand white men and women find employment in this city in the making of ladies' garments. A good percentage even of these few—we mean few in comparison with the population of this city and the surrounding territory—are idle during three months of the year, while the Asiatic works the whole year round, week days, Sundays and holidays, day time and night time, hardly taking a few hours for sleep, to say nothing of amusements, stitching, stitching, stitching all the time, all the time eating rice and fish only, and drinking tea not grown here, but imported from his native country, for he has no use for anything grown or made here—except the American dollar—all the time forcing down prices and wages, all the time throwing more and more white men and women out of employment, all the time trying to assimilate the Caucasian to his own standard, instead of assimilating to the standard of the Caucasian.

Any one who has lived in San Francisco for any length of time knows well that more and more Chinese and Japanese stores are being opened on the thoroughfares of our city. The articles mostly displayed in these stores are ladies' garments, which are to be had at prices far below the lowest bargain counter price. It is safe to say that all the stock these stores contain is made in Chinatown, or by Chinese and Japanese living and working with their families in one or two small rooms adjacent to the store.

It is really depressing to know that our merchants and manufacturers, jobbers and importers, who never sell a dollar's worth of goods to a Chinaman or a Jap, are the main supporters of these Asiatics. Most of the so-called importers of Parisian, London and New York garments, import the raw material only. As soon as the raw material arrives here it is cut up, in many cases by Mongolians working in the warehouse, and sent to Chinatown to be made into garments. All that is necessary to beguile a San Francisco woman is to put some fancy label beneath the hanger of the garment, and it is sold by a smiling saleslady at prosperity prices as imported direct from Paris, London or New York, with all the germs of disease bred in a Chinatown filth thrown into the bargain.

During the past two years we have succeeded in keeping great numbers of Chinese and Japanese out of our trade by organizing into a trade-union and by threatening merchants and manufacturers to bring their names before the public if they do not, at least, give part of their work to white men and women. The merchants and manufacturers, however, though they always profess to sell none but goods made by white labor. are adopting more and more, secret methods in giving their work out, such as packing and re-packing, shipping and re-shipping, etc. The consequence is that, while the population of San Francisco is rapidly increasing, the number of white men and women working on ladies' garments does not increase in proportion, for the Mongolian is getting more and more of the work, displacing more and more white men and women, looking forward to the day when the barrier will be let down and he will be allowed to take possession of California and the neighboring States, to reap where the white man with his sweat and blood has sown.

It is safe to say that two-thirds of all the ladies' garments sold in the stores of the Pacific slope are made by Japanese and Chinese, in the reeking dens, cellars and garrets of San Francisco's Chinatown.

All these conditions are existing while the present Exclusion law is in force. Should this law be allowed to expire and a new and more stringent law excluding all Asiatics, Chinese, Japanese and all others, not be enacted by Congress, it will only be a question of a very short time when, for a wage of 75 cents a day—enough to buy rice and tea—the last white tailor will have made the last stitch on the last garment given him by the last white storekeeper, to order of the last white woman to be found in 'Frisco.

We sincerely hope that this convention will fulfill its purpose, and that our representatives in Congress, elected by us to make laws for the protection of our firesides, will understand the gravity of the situation and do their duty in full by enacting a law which will permanently exclude from these shores all Asiatics, so that the white man may go on developing the resources of this beautiful country undisturbed by Mongolian hordes.

By order of Cloakmakers' Union, Local No. 8, I. L. G. W. U.

ISIDOR JACOBY, Secretary.

(The following resolutions were submitted to the Convention, referred to the Committee on Memorial and Resolutions, and by it referred to the Executive Committee):

Whereas, The law providing for the exclusion of Mongolians from our shores, commonly known as the "Geary Exclusion Act," will soon expire by limitation; and,

Whereas, The need of such a law is even greater than when the Geary Act was originally passed, because we have learned more of the evils that result from the presence of Chinese in our midst than we knew then, for the experience of each year more strongly presents the dangers to our free institutions from their residence amongst us; and,

Whereas, It is necessary for the people of the Pacific Coast, and particularly for those of California, to exert themselves in order that the people of the Eastern States may know not only the wickedness of the Chinese themselves, but their baneful effect upon the white people of our land, to the end that an awakened public sentiment from all over the United States may impel Congress to re-enact the Geary law; and,

Whereas, The Chinese invasion of our Pacific Coast is but a forerunner of what will happen to all the States of the American Union, unless the invaders are stopped by the barriers of law, for the history of the past teaches us that once the Chinese be permitted to gain a footing, they never lose it, but continually increase in number and strength; and,

Whereas, The Chinese teach us nothing but vice in its lowest form, and have by their filthy habits brought disease into our midst, threatened us with the devastating bubonic plague, taught our young and old the debasing opium habit, deprived many workmen of their means of living, corrupted officials with their money, proved themselves in every way alien to America and American teachings, and have caused and do cause injury to our financial system by sending all their earnings abroad and refusing to improve the land in which they get those earnings, and have shown themselves incapable of understanding or appreciating the benefits of our civilization or our form of government, and have demonstrated in every manner that their free access to our nation will surely destroy labor and capital alike, and will sap the foundations of the Republic, degrade the laboring man to the condition of a slave, and make our country no longer habitable for the white man and woman of the world; and,

Whereas, Congress alone can give us lawful relief, and by its action prevent the ruin of our workingmen and the scenes of strife that will necessarily follow a refusal to listen to our just request; therefore be it

Resolved, By the representatives of the people of California, in mass convention, assembled at San Francisco, November 21, 1901, that we call upon our brothers and sisters of the East to aid us in this our hour of danger, for unless they do, their ruin will follow ours; and we ask them to unite with us in securing from the Congress of the United States the re-enactment of the Geary Exclusion Act, or the passage of one equally as effective.

Resolved, That for the purpose of making known to the people of the other States that this is the unanimous sentiment of all the people of California, we request Hon. Henry T. Gage, Governor of California, to issue a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants of California to meet in every village, town and city in the State, on a day to be named by him, for the purpose of adopting a memorial to Congress asking its aid in protecting America from these hordes of barbarians, who will, unless prevented, overrun our valleys and hills as the armies of Attila did the plains of Europe.

(Introduced by P. T. Johnston of Sacramento, Cal.)

Whereas, The interests of public morality and the protection of American producers and every social and business interest of the Pacific Coast demand stringent measures against the further degradation of our people by the introduction of leprous, opium-smoking and cheap-labor Asiatics, whose presence has ever been a menace to the interests of the producer, the manufacturer and merchant, and inimical to our social life; be it

Resolved, That we, representatives of organizations of the Pacific Coast, in convention assembled, demand of our representatives in Congress their support for an Exclusion Act restrictive against all Asiatics, and that we ask our representatives to enlist for the support of such a measure all possible aid and influence in Congress and throughout the country; and further, that such legislative action be taken at such a time that at the expiration of the law known as the Geary Act, the new law be operative. We also ask our representatives to use every measure in their power to accelerate the action of Governmental officials in actively enforcing the Geary Act during the time intervening before its expiration.

The above resolution is presented to the convention with the request for its adoption.

G. B. BENHAM,
JOSEPH ROWAN,
GEORGE MALONEY,
Delegates Pressmen's Union No. 24, S. F.

325.251

For the Re-Enactment

OF THE

Chinese Exclusion Law

California's Memorial

TO THE

President and the Congress

OF THE

UNITED STATES

ADOPTED BY

The Chinese Exclusion Convention, called by the Board of
Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco,
and composed of 3000 Delegates from State,
County and Municipal Bodies, Civic, Labor
and Commercial Organizations, held
at Metropolitan Temple, San
Francisco, Cal., Nov.
21 and 22, 1901.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
THE STAR PRESS JAMES H. BARRY

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

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SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
THE STAR PRESS ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL SAN FRANCISCO JAMES H. BARRY

MEMORIAL.

To the President and the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to a call officially issued by the City of San Francisco, there assembled in that city on the 21st day of November, 1901, for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the State of California on the re-enactment of Chinese exclusion laws, a convention composed of State officers, representatives of County Supervisors, City Councils, trade, labor, commercial and civic organizations, to the number of three thousand, and without dissent it was resolved to memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States as follows:

Soon after the negotiation of the Burlingame treaty in 1868, large numbers of Chinese coolies were brought to this country under contract. Their numbers so increased that in 1878 the people of the State made a practically unanimous demand for the restriction of the immigration. Our white population suffered in every department of labor and trade, having in numerous instances been driven out of employment by the competition of the Chinese. The progress of the State was arrested because so long as the field was occupied by Chinese a new and desirable immigration was impossible. After a bitter struggle remedial legislation was passed in 1882, and was renewed in 1892, and by treaty with China, in 1894, exclusion became a matter of international agreement, to run for a period of ten years. Your memorialists, in view of the fact that the present so-called Geary law expires by limitation on May 5th next, and learning that you have been petitioned against its re-enactment, believe that it is necessary for them to repeat and to re-affirm the reasons which, in their judgment, require the re-enactment and the continued enforcement of the law.

EFFECTS OF EXCLUSION.

The effects of Chinese exclusion have been most advantageous to the State. The 75,000 Chinese residents of California, in 1880, have been reduced, according to the last census, to 45,600; and whereas, the white settlement of California by Caucasians had been arrested prior to the adoption of these laws, a healthy growth of the State in population has marked the progress of recent years. Every material interest of the State has advanced, and prosperity has been our portion. Were the restriction laws relaxed we are convinced that our working population would be displaced, and the noble structure of our State, the creation of American ideas and industry, would be imperiled if not destroyed. The lapse of time has only confirmed your memorialists in their conviction, from their knowledge derived from actually coming in contact with the Chinese, that they are a non-assimilative race, and by every standard of American thought undesirable as citizens. Although they have been frequently employed and treated with decent consideration ever since the enactment of the exclusion law in 1882, which was the culmination and satisfaction of California's patriotic purpose, they have not in any sense altered their racial characteristics, and have not, socially or otherwise, assimilated with our people. To quote the Imperial Chinese Consul-General in San Francisco: "They work more cheaply than whites; they live more cheaply; they send their money out of the country to China; most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States, and they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies and not after the American fashion."

THE CHINESE ARE NON-ASSIMILATIVE.

Until this year no statute had been passed by the State forbidding their intermarriage with the whites, and yet during their long residence but few intermarriages have taken place, and the offspring has been invariably degenerate. It is well established that the issue of the Caucasian and the Mongolian do not possess the virtues of either, but develop the vices of both. So physical assimilation is out of the question.

It is well known that the vast majority of Chinese do not bring their wives with them in their immigration because of their purpose to return to their native land when a competency is earned. Their practical status amongst us has been that of single men competing at low wages against not only men of our own race, but men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. They pay little taxes, they support no institutions—neither school, church nor theatre; they persistently violate our laws and have tribunals of their own; they remain steadfastly, after all these years, a permanently foreign element. The purpose, no doubt, for enacting the exclusion laws for periods of ten years is due to the intention of Congress of observing the progress of those people under American institutions, and now it has been clearly demonstrated that they cannot, for the deep and ineradicable reasons of race and mental organization, assimilate with our own people, and be moulded as are other races into strong and composite American stock.

AN UNDESIRABLE IMMIGRATION.

We respectfully represent that their presence excludes a desirable population, and that there is no necessity whatever for their immigration. The immigration laws of this country now exclude pauper and contract labor from every land. All Chinese immigration of the coolie class is both pauper and contract labor. It is not a voluntary immigration. The Six Chinese Companies of California deal in Chinese labor as a commodity. Prior to the exclusion they freely imported coolies, provided for them, farmed out their services and returned them—and their bones, if they should die, pursuant to a superstitious belief—to their native land.

America is the asylum for the oppressed and liberty-loving people of the world, and the implied condition of admission to this country is allegiance to its government and devotion to its institutions. It is hardly necessary to say that the Chinese are not even bona fide settlers, as the Imperial Chinese Consul-General admits.

DESTRUCTIVE COMPETITION.

We respectfully represent that American labor should not be exposed to the destructive competition of aliens who do not, will not, and cannot take up the burdens of American citizenship, whose presence is an economic blight and a patriotic danger. It has been urged that the Chinese are unskilled and that they create wealth in field, mine and forest, which ultimately redounds to the benefit of the white skilled working man. The Chinese are skilled and are capable of almost any skilled employment. They have invaded the cigar, shoe, broom, chemical, clothing, fruit canning, match making, woolen manufacturing industries, and have displaced more than 4,000 white men in these several employments in the City of San Francisco. As common laborers they have throughout California displaced tens of thousands of men. But this country is not solely concerned even in a coldly economic sense with the production of wealth. The United States has now a greater per capita of working energy than any other land. If it is stimulated by a non-assimilative and non-consuming race, there is grave danger of over-production and stagnation. The home market should grow with the population. But the Chinese living on the most meagre food, having no families to support, inured to deprivation, and hoarding their wages for use in their native land, whither they invariably return, cannot in any sense be regarded as consumers. Their earnings do not circulate, nor are they reinvested—contrary to those economic laws, which make for the prosperity of nations. For their services they may be said to be paid twice—first by their employer and then by the community. If we must have protection, is it not far better for us to protect ourselves against the man than against his trade?

WEALTH PRODUCTION AND LABOR PROBLEMS.

Our opponents maintain that the admission of the Chinese would cause an enlargement of our national wealth and a great increase of production, but the distribution of wealth, not its production, is to-day our most serious public question. In this age of science and invention, the production of wealth can well be left to take care of itself. It is its equitable distribution that must now be the concern of the country.

The increasing recurrence of strikes in modern times must have convinced every one that their recent settlement is nothing more than a truce. It is not a permanent industrial peace. The new organization of capital and labor that is now necessary to bring about lasting peace and harmony between those engaged in production will require greater sympathy, greater trust and confidence, and a clearer mutual understanding between the employers and the employed. Any such new organization will require a closer union to be formed between them. Those requirements can never be fulfilled between the individuals of races so alien to one another as ourselves and the Chinese.

The Chinese are only capable of working under the present unsatisfactory system. All progress then to an improved organization of capital and labor would be arrested. We might have greater growth, but never greater development. It was estimated by the Commissioner of Labor that there were a million idle men in the United States in 1886. Certainly the 76,000 Chinese in California at that time stood for 76,000 white men waiting for employment, and the further influx of Chinese in any considerable numbers would precipitate the same condition again, if not, indeed make it chronic. If the United States increases in population at the rate of 12 per cent. per decade, it will have nearly 230,000,000 of people in 100 years. Our inventive genius and the constant improvements being made in machinery will greatly increase our per capita productive capacity. If it be our only aim to increase our wealth and to hold our own in the markets of the world, are we not, without the aid of Chinese coolies, capable of doing it, and at the same time preserve the character of our population and insure the perpetuity of our institutions? It is not wealth at any cost that sound public policy requires, but that the country be developed with equal pace with the growth of a desirable population, which stands not only for industry but also for citizenship.

In their appeal to the cupidity of farmers and orchardists, the proponents of Chinese immigration have stated that the Chinese are only common laborers, and by this kind of argument they have attempted to disarm the skilled labor organizations of the country; but we have shown you that the Chinese are skilled and are capable of becoming skilled. As agriculturists they have crowded out the native population and driven the country boy from the farm to the city, where he meets their skilled competition in many branches of industry; but shall husbandry be abandoned to a servile class? Shall the boys and girls of the fields and of the orchards be deprived of their legitimate work in the harvest? Shall not our farmers be encouraged to look to their own households and to their own neighbors for labor? Shall the easy methods of contract employment be fostered? We are warned by history that the free population of Rome was driven by slave labor from the country into the city, where they became a mob and a rabble, ultimately compassing the downfall of the Republic. The small farms were destroyed, and under an overseer large farms were cultivated, which led Pliny to remark that "great estates ruined Italy."

SERVILE LABOR.—THE WARNINGS OF EXPERIENCE.

The experience of the South with slave labor warns us against unlimited Chinese immigration, considered both as a race question and as an economic problem. The Chinese, if permitted to freely enter this country, would create race antagonisms, which might provoke domestic disturbance. The Caucasian will not tolerate the Mongolian. As ultimately all government is based on physical force, the white population of this country will not, without resistance, suffer themselves to be destroyed. Chinese coolies cannot but be designated as servile labor. It is repugnant to our form of society and to our ideas of government to segregate a labor class and regard it only as its capacity for work. If we were to return to the ante-bellum ideas of the South, now happily discarded, the Chinese would satisfy every requirement of a slave or servile class. They work incessantly; they are docile, and they would not be concerned about their political condition. But such suggestions are opposed to American civilization. America has dignified work and made it honorable. Manhood gives title to rights, and the government, being ruled by majorities, is largely controlled by the very class which servile labor would supersede—the free and independent workingmen of America. The political power invested in men by this government shows the absolute necessity of keeping up the standard of population and not permitting it to deteriorate by contact with inferior and non-assimilative races.

THE PRESERVATION OF OUR CIVILIZATION

But this is not alone a race, labor, and political question. It is one which involves our civilization and appeals to the people of the world. The benefactors, scholars, soldiers and statesmen—the patriots and martyrs of mankind—have builded our modern fabric firmly upon the foundation of religion, law, science and art. It has been rescued from barbarism and protected against the incursions of barbarians. Civilization in Europe has been frequently attacked and imperiled by the barbaric hordes of Asia. If the little band of Greeks at Marathon had not beaten back ten times their number of Asiatic invaders, it is impossible to estimate the loss to civilization that would have ensued. When we contemplate what modern civilization owes to the two centuries of Athenian life, from which we first learned our lessons of civil and intellectual freedom, we can see how necessary it was to keep the Asiatic from breaking into Europe. Attila and his Asiatic hordes threatened Central Europe, when the Gauls made their successful stand against them. The wave of Asiatic barbarism rolled back and civilization was again saved. The repulse of the Turks, who are of the Mongolian race, before Vienna, finally made our civilization strong enough to take care of itself, and the danger of extinction by a military invasion from Asia had passed away. But a peaceful invasion is more dangerous than a warlike attack. We can meet and defend ourselves against an open foe, but an insidious foe, under our generous laws, would be in possession of the citadel before we were aware. The free immigration of Chinese would be for all purposes an invasion by Asiatic barbarians against whom civilization in Europe, fortunately for us, has been frequently defended. It is our inheritance to keep it pure and uncontaminated, as it is our purpose and destiny to broaden and enlarge it. We are trustees for mankind.

BETTERMENT OF CHINA.

In an age when the brotherhood of man has become more fully recognized, we are not prepared to overlook the welfare of the Chinaman himself. We need have nothing on our national conscience, because the Chinaman has a great industrial destiny in his own country. Few realize that China is yet a sparsely populated country. Let its merchants, travelers, teachers and students then come here as before to carry back to China the benefits of our improvements and experiments. Let American ideas of progress and enterprise be planted on Chinese soil. Our commerce with China since 1880 has increased more than 50 per cent. Our consular service (August, 1901) reports that "The United States is second only to Great Britain in goods sold to the Chinese. The United States buys more goods from China than does any other nation, and her total trade with China, exports and imports, equals that of Great Britain, not including the colonies, and is far ahead of that of any other country."

Commerce is not sentimental and has not been affected by our legislation. The Chinese government knowing the necessity of the situation, and being familiar with the fact that almost every country has imposed restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese coolies, does not regard our attitude as an unfriendly act. Indeed, our legislation has been confirmed by treaty. Nor are the Chinese unappreciative of the friendship of the United States, recently displayed in saving possibly the empire from dismemberment. So, therefore, America is at no disadvantage in its commercial dealings with China on account of the domestic policy of Chinese exclusion.

Therefore, every consideration of public duty, the nation's safety and the people's rights, the preservation of our civilization and the perpetuity of our institutions, impel your memorialists to ask for the reenactment of the Exclusion laws, which have for twenty years protected us against the gravest dangers, and which, were they relaxed, would imperil every interest which the American people hold sacred for themselves and their posterity.

RESOLUTIONS.

The committee reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

First.—Whereas, The Chinese Exclusion Act, known as the "Geary law," will expire by limitation May 24, 1902; and,

Whereas, The treaty between this country and China concerning the restriction of immigration from the latter nation may, under its provisions, expire on March 3, 1904; and,

Whereas, The evils that produced the necessity for the enactment of the present exclusion law and the making of the present treaty with China still exist in our midst, and dangers therefrom are as imminent now as they were when the present barriers were established; and,

Whereas, Unless such barriers are maintained and vigorously guarded, the invasion of Chinese laborers, thereby checked, will expose our people to a renewal thereof, with all its influences inimical to the interest of our wage-earners and injurious to the general welfare; and,

Whereas, The beneficial results flowing from the operation of the said Act have met the expectations of the people in avoiding an increase of Chinese immigration and an aggravation of the many evils thereof; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Chinese Exclusion Convention of the State of California, composed of three thousand delegates representing the State, county and city governments, and industrial and civic organizations in all parts of the State:

First.—That we demand the continuance of existing treaties with China and the re-enactment of the "Geary Exclusion Law."

Second.—That we recommend that the California delegation in Congress act unitedly in the presentation of the bill to accomplish the purpose hereinafter set forth and use their utmost endeavor to secure its immediate enactment into law.

Committee on Memorial and Resolutions.

At Large: SENATOR JOHN F. DAVIS,
MAYOR JAMES D. PHELAN,
W. MACARTHUR,
SENATOR SMITH (of Kern),
A. C. CAMINETTI.
First District: FRANK WEHE,
J. D. CONNOLLY,
F. M. ANGELOTTI.
Second District: P. T. JOHNSTON (of Sacramento),
W. W. MIDDLECOFF,
JAMES DEVINE.
Third District: L. B. LEAVITT,
ALDEN ANDERSON,
EDWARD LEAKE.
Fourth District: M. CASEY,
SAMUEL BRAUNHART,
GUY LATHROP.
Fifth District: H. RYAN (of San Jose),
H. G. W. DINKELSPIEL,
W. M. CANNON.
Sixth District: GEORGE W. HUGHES,
SENATOR R. N. BULLA,
MAYOR M. P. SNYDER.
Seventh District: T. B. ECKELS,
VICTOR MONTGOMERY,
J. H. GLASS.

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From [illegible]

HUMORS
OF A
CONGRESSIONAL
INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

A Review of the Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration.
Washington, 1877.

BY

SAMUEL E. W. BECKER,

Secretary to the Bishop of Wilmington, Del., late Professor in The University of Virginia.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The writer of the following article, brother to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Wilmington, Del., had occasion after reading the report of the Committee on Chinese Immigration to write an article for the *Catholic World* on an entirely different subject, in which, however, he took occasion to say that in his opinion Catholics if as represented they joined as a body in hounding down the Chinese were doing not only a wrong but an impolitic thing.

That article excited considerable talk, and letters have been received at the office of the *World* both from those who liked and those who disliked the merely incidental mention of opinion therein made.

Having passed some time in California Mr. Becker naturally felt a strong interest in her doings, and after reading with great care the testimony in the above mentioned Report wrote this article, intending it for publication in the *North American Review*, but the columns of that magazine being pre-engaged for the next two issues, and as its publication after that time would be too late to do much good, it was sent to the present editor, who has thought best to issue it in this form, believing its publication calculated to do good, especially among co-religionists of Mr. Becker.

Mr. Becker has written hitherto solely on ecclesiastical matters. He gives this as his contribution to the cause of right against foul oppression. The circumstances that caused him to examine the question and write this article were simply these: Among other books and documents sent out by Senator Bayard was the "Report on Chinese Immigration." Mr. Becker had but the general idea which every conscientious man *does* and every educated man *should* entertain, *i. e.*, a stern opposition to the abuse and oppression of the helpless, and an unswerving belief in the sacredness of treaty obligations. He has from 1862 to 1866 spent considerable time in California, Utah, Idaho and Nevada, where his observation had been very favorable to the Chinese and of a different sort with regard to their oppressors. Taking up the book rather with a view of seeing again some of the names that had once been familiar to him in California he found occasion to join issue with some views expressed by Rev. Messrs. Gibson, Brier, &c., and in the article in the *Catholic World* of February controverted these views. In the exordium he merely stated that if true, as asserted, that the Catholics sided with might against right on the subject, they deserved to be and would yet be lashed with whips of scorpions. It was merely a casual remark, but the editor of the *World* received any quantity of letters deprecating any such statement *as in the highest degree impolitic, affirming that the writer did not know what he was talking about, &c., &c., usque ad nauseam.*

Thereupon he read the whole Report, striving to discriminate the true and pertinent from the false and irrelevant, became fully convinced where the truth lay, talked the matter over with Bishop Becker—corresponded with Senator Bayard on the subject, and put on paper the result.

And we commend it to the careful consideration of every Christian and Patriot.

HUMORS
OF A
CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration. Washington, 1877.

In the month of July, 1876, a concurrent resolution was introduced and carried in the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. S., authorizing a joint special committee, consisting of three members from each house, to proceed to the Pacific Coast, for the purpose of investigating the effect and extent of Chinese immigration into this country. The resolution, of course, empowered the committee to procure testimony under oath; and the usual rigmarole was added about "authority to send for persons and papers." Few sane men nowadays fancy for a moment that the man who will not, of his own accord, tell the truth, is likely to be successfully launched on the track of veracity by being put upon oath; and the success of late Congressional committees in procuring papers and in dealing with persons (when they had them face to face,) has not been such as to lead even the average member of Congress to regard this phrase as anything more than "padding and filling in." That committee was required to report to the next (the present) session of Congress. It is a matter of no special interest to us who the members of the committee were—our business is with their work and the mode in which they performed it. We have the result of their labors in the 1287 4to pages before us.

Experience has, in our country, abundantly demonstrated that both political parties have been, are, and will in all human probability always be ready to pander to the last extent to the prejudices of the ignorant, who are in all countries a vast majority, and, in this of ours, have and make use of their votes. Both Democrats and Republicans inserted an anti-Chinese plank in the platform of the last Presidential campaign. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the members of this committee—men who make a profession of politics—should have come to the work as partisans, and with mentally foregone conclusions. That they did so, is manifest by the animus of the questions, suggestions, interrogations and incidental remarks of the committee-men from the first business session. The meetings were held in San Francisco, whose population has, to say the least, not won golden opinions by the treatment that the Chinese have met there. A vast majority of the witnesses in constant attendance were municipal authorities of that city, whose outrageous and inhuman laws against these poor people have been again and again overruled—even by the Supreme Court of their State—while State officials and committees of the Legislature of California were not wanting, both as witnesses and advocates on the side of the oppressor. During the sessions, these large "anti-Coolie" clubs in San Francisco were sending threatening letters to the employers of Chinese labor, and a daily press, both the conscientious and the venal, brayed and argued, ranted and talked, lied and asserted, as usually happens when persons are excited. We have all long known that a Congressional Committee invariably divides off by parties on questions both of law and fact. Most men have settled down in the belief that such committees have no judicial character whatever, consisting simply of two boards of attorneys for the respective political parties; but in the case before us, there being no issue between the political parties, the board may be said to have been from first to last a purely one-sided affair, though faint indications appear from time to time that at least one of the committee-men felt ashamed of his role, thinking that perhaps industry, frugality, temperance and submissiveness were not the strongest grounds on which to frame an indictment against one-third of the human race.

In the teeth of what seems to us the vast preponderance of evidence laid before them, (which is now before us and before the world), and which certainly would lead many minds to far different conclusions, this committee rings all possible changes upon the utterly unproved fact, that deadly riots are likely to occur among the Celestials, owing to local hostilities previously existing in China—dwells upon the admitted fact that the Chinese in this country still largely retain their original costume and habits in food and mode of life, and inveighs against the frugality which enables the Chinaman to live and save money on wages which, lamentably enough, is insufficient for the needs of the white man, who deems it incumbent upon him to do his level best towards patronising the saloons. The Committee does not hesitate to speak of the existence of the Chinese in the Pacific States as a "*terrible scourge*," winds up by recommending that the Executive take measures for modifying the existing treaty with China, confining it to strictly commercial purposes, and that Congress legislate to restrain the great influx of Asiatics into this country. They deliberately suggest to Congress that if this questson be not now promptly met, it will have, within a quarter of a century, to be confronted on the banks of the Ohio or the Hudson. They darkly hint that Republican institutions are imperilled by the prospective immigration of Chinese, and forecast for us the gloomy prospect that the existence of Christian civilization among the hoodlums of California is menaced by the "heathen Chinee." For these honorable Senators and Representatives have evidently not that confidence in the vitality of Christianity entertained by Brigham Young in that of Mormonism, when in response to the suggestion that the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad would cause the disintegration of the religion of Joe Smith, he tersely observed that "*it would be a —— poor religion if it couldn't stand one railroad!*" No doubt their intense personal realization of the practical importance of the plan of salvation opened up under the Christian dispensation caused the Committee to overrate the magnitude of the dangers that threaten the true religion. But, gentlemen, surely it cannot be well for men so highly placed to express and give way to such craven fears, since weaker brethren, taking such dicta as sound, may be led to think that Christianity, like the Pennsylvania iron trade, is a feeble growth, for the nurture of which heavy tariffs, as well as careful discriminations against all rival products are absolutely necessary.

Now six gentlemen do not travel from Washington to San Francisco—occupy rooms at the Palace Hotel, (rooms A and B were devoted, for more than a month, to the mere services of that committee)—employ a Secretary—procure witnesses, and print such a voluminous report, without its costing a very considerable sum of money. The money so spent was the money of the people. Times are and have been exceedingly hard, and the proportion of the very poor to the entire population has, at no period of our history, been so great as now. What has been gained by this expedition? What is there to show for it? Of course the reader (should the Report find readers) can lay no stress on the highfalutin but very indefinite talk of the members, touching "*intelligent*" and "*adequately paid labor.*" Vague terms like these are not expected to befool any but the rabble; and they will need to be very unintelligent indeed, who do not see that those who indulge in such misty talk, do so for a purpose which is itself by no means nebulous. Has there any single point in connection with the much mooted question of Chinese Immigration been made clearer to the mind of a single eastern resident, by the labor of this committee? Our own deliberate answer would be, that the game has not been worth the candle, and that the money spent upon the committee and the committee's report has been uselessly expended. What Congressional Committee (there have been several within the past couple of years) ever failed to bring in a report on the side for which a majority of its members had been previously contending? Have they not all been foregone conclusions, from the earliest one in our national history, down to the Electoral Committee? *A fortiori*, this one, containing essentially no discordant elements, even in a week, saw just what it wanted to see, saw nothing else, and reports in accordance. But the members might just as well have reported before leaving Washington, and would have reported just the same thing that they now do.

Considering the length of time during which the civilized nations of the earth have called themselves Christians, and accepted a Revelation, which distinctly informs us, on Divine authority, that "God hath made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the earth;" we have assuredly been very slow in withdrawing ourselves from the habits and modes of the Pagans, both in thought and action. They used to designate *foreigner* and *foe* by the same word, and deemed all who were not their homoglotts, to be barbarians. But, notwithstanding the manifest reluctance with which the nations gave up the notion that the foreigner was made solely to be bullied and plundered, yet they did give it up just in proportion as they became generally imbued with the truth of the Christian religion. Though it be but lately that the last vestiges of the "*droit d'aubains* have been abolished, even in the foremost Christian countries of Europe, yet that result has finally been accomplished, and the civil position of a foreigner in England or in France is now, in no regard different from that of a native, save as to the right to vote and to be voted for. But, in earlier centuries, and for several hundreds of years, no foreigner could hold real estate, could make a will, or inherit property; and they were, at the same time, subject to all manner of vexations, taxations and restrictions, liable at any time to be unceremoniously expelled the realm, under form of law—to be mobbed by the natives for grievances real or fancied, and in the event of a war between their own nation and that in which they resided, their goods were at once confiscated, and themselves summarily cast into prison. One by one, and in different centuries, these laws and usages became a dead letter, or was abrogated; nor will it be surprising that the nation that enacted the notorious "*Penal Laws*," was the slowest and most reluctant to give them up, it being only in 1870 that the last disability was repealed by the English Parliament, and foreigners allowed to bequeath and inherit like British subjects. Even stolid Turkey had long before done away with the wretched "*droit d'aubains*."

But it would seem that in the English speaking countries the population has as yet been by no means christianised, or even civilized up to the level of the laws. California has, for over twenty years, been acting towards the Chinese in the spirit of paganism, and this committee recommends, in the report before us, that the boasted government of the United States should retrograde some fifteen centuries in its treatment of the poor celestials. "I say, Bill, 'e's a blaasted furriner, 'eave han 'alf brick at 'im," conveys the feeling with which, at least, the lower ranks in

England are saturated. Our own abominable "alien and sedition laws" of the pre-revolutionary period, proves that the leaven of paganism was still strong among men who stood high among freedom's champions, and should have known better than to battle for the wrong. The "Native American" excesses of 1844, and the "Know Nothing" campaign of 1855, teach us that the substratum of the community is still quite ready to abuse the foreigner merely because of his birth, and that nothing delights our home rabble more than a likelihood of success in wreaking upon men not to the manor born, that hatred and spite which clings to us as a remnant of barbarism and paganry. With many men of much reading and reflection, it is unfortunately, not a question either of honest conviction or of stout, stolid, ignorant prejudice. With such, it is most frequently a mere question of self-interest, that interest being to *howl with the wolves*, and if it could be made manifest that a large number of citizens had, however falsely, gotten it into their heads that the Hebrew (or any other specific) population of the United States were given to clandestine feeding upon kidnapped babies, there would be found plenty of men, who, seeing thereby a chance of office or other political advancement, would pander to that false belief, knowing its falsity, and work like lawyers to prove the poor Jews guilty.

Notwithstanding the existence of the views referred to, in the minds of certain classes of the community, and though, under favorable circumstances, it would, without doubt, display itself with as little regard to the civil or moral law as in 1844; or cloak itself as meanly as in 1855, yet, what with our recent war, (in which foreigners were manifestly not the traitors, whosoever else may have been), what with the questions that arose subsequent to Lee's surrender, and the otherwise sufficiently vexed state of the politics of the country, there has been, of late years, in what Californians are wont to call "the States," no attempt at setting natives and foreigners by the ears. It is too soon after the rebellion for renewing the spurious cry, "*Put none but Americans on guard to-night.*" That *Morgan* would not be *good enough*, and the probability would be largely against success in an election conducted under such auspices. What the next twenty years may do, remains to be seen. For our own part, we hope—nay, we almost believe, that religion and civilization, that morality and education are progressing too rapidly to render it possible for us, as a nation, again to approximate barbarism, by lapsing back in the path that should be one of progress. It will take a great many dunderheaded recommendations from manifold committees of Congress to cause us to lose our faith in the brain and real conscience—the thoughtful middle classes of this great country; at any rate, we shall not bid the devil "good-morning" till we actually meet him.

But in California itself, which has been ours for not quite thirty years, which has, as yet, but few voters born on her soil—where all were, in the beginning, foreigners in a certain sense, it being very doubtful whether the actual foreigners did not, for many years largely outnumber those born within the limits of the United States, and when it would have been highly impractical, at least in the early days, to attempt any legislation against "foreigners" as such; circumstances did indeed alter cases. The patient, laborious Chinamen of the extreme southern province of Canton, heard of the discovery of gold in California, and, during '48, '49 and '50, large numbers of them entered the Golden Gate, joined in the search for the precious metals, and though abused and maltreated, as the physically and numerically weak always are by such a population, still, there would seem, in the first years, to have existed none of that prejudice against them, which has subsequently sprung up, or been excited factitiously, since the 4th of July, 1851. On the 8th December, 1850, the Chinese formed quite a large, and by far the most imposing feature of the procession in honor of the admission of California into the union of States. So encouraged were they by the success of their venture, that they joined their fellow-beings in adding what they could of splendor to the celebration of the ensuing 4th of July. People talked largely at that time, of trade with China, of making San Francisco the tea mart of the world, nay, even of raising tea, rice and silk in California, by the assistance of the natives. If not popular, the Chinaman was certainly not, as yet, bitterly disliked. The era of heaving a stone at sight of John Chinaman had not yet arrived. Half grown boys had not yet begun to make a business of shying missiles at him. We have no certain information on the point, but think it within the range of possibility that at that time a San Francisco policeman would have interposed to prevent his being abused.* Those were John's halcyon days. Alas! He has never since joined in a political demonstration with his California neighbors; has been obliged (at any rate since 1855) to keep himself, on all such occasions, very carefully out of the way, and in general not to "rile," the spirit of the superior race, by thrusting his person between the wind and their nobility. It is stated (but we regard the history as unveracious) that the Chinese laundrymen marched at night in procession at San Francisco, soon after the ingenious discovery by which linen is counterfeited in paper; they are said, on that occasion, to have born among many smaller ones, a huge transparency with this legend; "*No more washee; paper collar for Melican man, give him linen collar back.*" If so, it was the last public demonstration in which the California celestials have ventured to indulge.

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* We had neither half grown boys nor policemen.—[Editor.

With the exhaustion of the surface diggings, or to put it in California parlance, so soon as "prospecting got played out," the never very genuine, and always selfish gush of the white inhabitants over the Chinese ceased at once. It became manifest that the Chinaman could and did suit himself to the changed circumstances; that he could and did wash over old abandoned tailings, and make not only a living, but a profit upon them. Driven from these by exorbitant taxes levelled solely at and ruthlessly exacted from him, he undertook the getting up of linen as laundryman; did it so well and so cheap that the business soon fell altogether in his hands. Many Chinese became employed as cooks, or slop-boys, as domestic servants of all sorts. So sober, so obedient, so punctual and reliable were they, that those who employed them would have no others. By these qualities and a superior deftness, they soon got hold of the business of the cigar-makers. From remnants of misfit carpet and strips of sole leather, they made and sold slippers at 50c. the pair which the noble Caucassian would not deign to make for less than $1.50. But the noble race bought the cheaper slipper, and California ceased to import slippers from France. The woolen mills were then in their infancy in San Francisco, and the employés would get drunk; would keep "blue Monday" and many other blue days; insisted upon such high wages that the nascent industry stood no show of success, while the workmen varied performances by going on occasional strikes by way of enlivening the business prospect. Chinamen were then employed, who were always on hand, invariably sober, contented if they received the wages promised, and they soon proved themselves adepts in the art of manipulating the wool at every stage, from the fleece to the finest manufactured article. Employers are not slow to perceive their own wants, nor more unlikely than the rest of the world to suit themselves, and thus the Chinese always found remunerative employment, while their sullen antagonists (for the miners by this time hated the Chinaman) refused work unless at their trade (if they had one)—prospected vaguely and of course unsuccessfully over the country, and were largely to be found playing "poker," or practising at the bar of the saloons. "Say, lend us a half?" began to be a not unusual form of address. Clothes grew seedier, more dilapidated, while the occasional sight of John's (every Chinaman is called John in California) neatly clad figure on his way to or from his work added fuel to the smouldering indignation of the superior (?) race. What a vile passion in human nature is that which makes the idle, slinking sot hate so bitterly his fellow (perhaps otherwise his inferior) merely for being industrious, thrifty and sober! The female house-servant had carried things, ere John's advent, with a high hand. People became tired of her—her waste, her airs, her claims, her high demands in the matter of wages. It was soon found out that John was ready to step quietly in—do her work satisfactorily to master and mistress, perform faithfully all he was ordered to do, and all this far more savingly than the females had ever done it, while he claims but about two-thirds of the wages. *Servant-galdom* was "down on" him, and from that time bitter hatred has been borne and inextinguishable ire sworn against him by the laboring Anglo-Saxon, (not one in fifty of them is that,) male and female. Since then it has been simply war to the knife on the one side, and a quiet, cunning, submissive avoidance of trouble on the part of the Chinaman.

Skillfully nurtured, more especially on the eve of elections, by conscienceless demagogues who have an ax to grind by this means, constant outrages and frequent murders have been perpetrated on this inoffensive race; and though there is usually a lull in the intervals between the local and other canvasses, the sore always exists, liable to break out on but slight provocation, which provocation, however, both the testimony taken and the facts otherwise known justify us in asserting never once to have come from the usually timorous Celestial.

The writer has himself seen outrages publicly perpetrated upon Chinamen in the streets of San Francisco, calculated to make one's blood boil within him. We have all read something of the treatment which these poor people experience in that city and throughout California at the hands (we will say) of boys and lewd fellows of the baser sort. Dare they do this repeatedly in opposition to a public sentiment worth anything? Who ever heard of a hoodlum being arrested, still less punished, for abusing a Chinaman? It is clearly and uncontradictedly in evidence in this Report, that bands of men and boys used to make it their business to pelt the newly arrived Chinamen with stones as they sat helplessly huddled in the express-wagons on their way from the steamer to the caravanserai of the special company to which they looked for care and advice; nor was it formerly any unusual thing to see them lifted out senseless and with broken heads. Had a tithe of the outrages practiced with impunity upon the Chinese in California been perpetrated upon persons of any European nationality, the Alabama claims would be but a shadow of the damages that any fair tribunal would feel compelled to award that nation by way of compensation for the apathy of our officials and the brutality of our citizens.

So much being premised as to the statement of the question, we must somewhat modify our previous assertion that the Committee might as well have made its report without leaving Washington. Incidentally it happens that though a vast amount of the testimony is trashy, a great deal of it utterly irrelevant, and much of it as thoroughly *ex parte* as the minds of the gentlemen before whom it was taken, yet a portion of it, a considerable portion, and probably that on which an observant reader will feel inclined to lay most stress, was manifestly neither looked for nor graciously received by the Committee, and tells in very plain words some very stubborn facts. The men who give this testimony are men of weight in the community, many of them being '49ers. They are neither State nor municipal politicians, nor are they policeman or officials in anti-Coolie clubs. From these various classes we have evidence *usque ad nauseam*, but its malignity is so patent as to defeat itself; and even where the probability seems favorable to its truth, we cannot help but doubt the statements, or at least ask for further and better proof. Physicians rarely show to advantage when giving testimony on their own specialty, and in this book they contradict each other at all points. A California *savant* has managed to "ring in" upon the Committee quite a voluminous essay, printed in the appendix among a great deal of other extraneous matter. His subject is, "*The origin of the Chinese race, its early migrations, the philosophy of their development, &c., &c.*," matters, which even if well treated, had about as much to do with the subject in hand as a "*dissertation of the great wall;*" and handled as it is, reminds one of nothing so much as an unusually wearisome and pointless paper in the proceedings of the Smithsonian Institute. On every item of statistics, from the total number of Chinese in the Flowery Land down to the number of Chinese prostitutes in San Francisco, or the total number of converted Celestials in California, we have so many, so widely divergent, and such wild guesses, that it is evident most of the parties talking know, of their own knowledge, nothing at all in the premises and had access to poor data for accurate guess-work. In the testimony of some of the witnesses there is a manifest undercurrent of a strong desire to be candid, coupled with an equally evident fear of the loss of public sentiment. One of the witnesses showed the Committee a threatening letter, ordering him to *leave the State forthwith*, the reason assigned being that he had in his testimony spoken favorably of the Chinese. During the sessions of the Committee, at least three distinct and aggravated outrages upon Chinamen took place in San Francisco, sufficiently serious to be reported in the daily prints, though, of course, nobody was arrested, much less punished in consequence. It may, therefore, be pleaded in mitigation of this *opus ventorum*, that "more by good luck than good guidance" it contains material which will help a person who has lived upon the Pacific Coast, and had personal acquaintance with the Chinese, in coming to a rational conclusion on the matter at issue. More than this cannot be said for it.

Statements were made by their respective attorneys, 1st, on behalf of the State; 2d, on the part of the municipality of San Francisco; and 3d, from the standpoint of the Anti-Chinese Union, which seemed to be a sort of Grand Lodge of the various Anti-Coolie Clubs. It is, by the way, a stinging sarcasm upon the innate tendency of the human race to persecution, that the names of the Presidents of the three Anti-Coolie Clubs of San Francisco before the Committee are unmistakably Irish; and this fact, together with the sorrowful certainty that that race is in California now lending its irrepressible energy to this unchristian and inhuman hounding down of the Chinese, would go far, (if anything could,) to reconcile us to the thought of their own sufferings in the days when a price was set on the head of a priest as on that of a wolf. They are now using the self-same terms about other human beings, of which they complained so bitterly, when, some fifty years ago, they were styled in the British Parliament, "*Aliens in blood, aliens in language and aliens in religion!*" If the views which they now advocate on the Pacific Coast had prevailed in the East, they would themselves never have been admitted into the country, which we cannot help but think they are by this action of theirs doing all in their power to disgrace. The opening speech on behalf of the State was a sufficiently temperate production, laying down nothing but what the speaker fancied he could prove, disclaiming all sympathy with the infamous class legislation to which the Chinese have been subjected, and eschewing any desire for their total exclusion or expulsion from our shores. A conscientious man, somewhat misinformed about the facts, but thoroughly well-meaning, might readily have made all the statements therein contained; at least, he might have done so previous to the taking of the testimony.

Not so with the speech in behalf of the municipality. For at least twenty years past, there has been in San Francisco a certain member of the bar, whose only claim to notice is the "cheek" and persistency with which he has kept himself before the public by means of this subject—to whom it has been as the breath of his nostrils; and by constant and iterate ventilation of it, we believe he ever attained the sublime dignity of Attorney-General of California. Whoever will take the trouble to read any twenty lines of his speech at random, will find ample proof that he is not a scholar. If any half page of it be read in connection with the testimony on the corresponding points, it will be seen that the politician always remains true to his instincts of untruthfulness. As is usually the case with ignorant, half-fledged men who have had a certain sort of material success in life, or gained that sort of notoriety which they are apt to mistake for applause, he is an infidel, which is bad enough. But worse still, this man is a hypocrite withal, for in the effort before us, he prates about religion, inveighs against the paganism of the Chinese and the reluctant deleteriousness of their presence to the Christian character of Californians. But he is not even what he would call "smart," he forgets his role, for he writes, says and allows to go on record in print, the following with other similar sentiments:

"*I believe that the Chinese have no souls to save, and if they have, that they are not worth the saving.*" There is a genuine Christian character for you; and of his Biblical and Theological information, we cull the following choice morsel from the same speech:

"*The Divine wisdom has said that he would divide the country and the world as the heritage of five great families; that to the blacks He would give Africa; to the red man He would give America; and Asia He would give to the yellow races. He inspires us with the determination not only to have prepared our own inheritance, but to have stolen from the red man America; and it is now settled that the Saxon, American or European groups of families, the white race, is to have the inheritance of Europe and America, and that the yellow races of China are to be confined to what the Almighty originally gave them; and, as they are not a favored people, they are not to be permitted to steal from us what we have robbed the American savage of.*"

Could anybody desire finer Biblical exercises, more lucid ethnography, or a more accurate knowledge of the decrees of God? Could these articles when discovered, be dished up by any ordinary brain in such "hoigth of foine English intoirely?" He never for an instant balks at asserting for fact what is not only unproved by the evidence, but even again and again distinctly asseverates as true, that which his own witnesses have utterly disproved. In the course of the examination he suggests that while some think "it would be wise to meet the Chinaman with the Gospel," he thinks that "a paving stone would be the proper weapon." It having been said by some witness that Yung Wing, (a Chinaman, who has spent most of his life in our country, and is an L. L. D. of Yale College,) was likely to be appointed Chinese Minister to the U. S., and that he had said he thought it likely that China would demand reparation for various outrages committed upon the Celestials in California, this orator of ours jauntily observes, "*We'll cut off his queue.*" No doubt he thought he was saying a witty thing; indeed, it probably would pass both for wit and argument in an Anti-Coolie meeting. Again, when a very respectable witness (a clergyman, whose testimony he was perverting,) sedately tells him, "I did not say so, I said the exact reverse," he impudently retorts, meaning to be insulting, "*You are a little touchy for a priest!*" Like cause like advocate. But civilization would prefer a gentleman, Christianity a believer, and if lucubrations are to be thrust upon us at the public expense, most of us would prefer them from a man capable of writing English.

The representative of the Anti-Chinese Union adopts bodily the sentiments of both the previous addresses, merely adding a lament over (white) labor and its distresses in California, (owing, in his opinion, to the presence of the moon-eyed celestials), and the necessity for its protection. His argument is simply a reiteration of the clap-trap which we, on this side of the continent, have been in the habit of hearing regularly on the introduction of every new labor saving machine, from the reaper down to the Singer and Wilson—from the first introduction of foreign labor of any kind in any neighborhood, down to the last *emeute* about Italian labor on the Brooklyn boulevards. So often and thoroughly have these views been exploded, that they no longer obtain, save among the Bradlaugh and Odger men in England, or the followers of Raoul Regault in France, and the Anti-Coolie Clubs in California. But, a comparatively small number of narrow-minded men, well kept in hand by a few brawling demagogues, are quite competent to inaugurate a reign of terror anywhere, and have manifestly succeeded in scaring many of the more sensible inhabitants of the Capital of the Pacific. Is it not a little strange that the three attorneys of the Anti-Coolie Clubs insist before the committee that they have neither right or desire to drive out the Chinese already here? They know as well as we, that the following is part and parcel of the articles of association of every single club of the kind in California, viz:

"*Its objects are to protect the people of the United States from the degrading influence of Chinese labor in any form; to discourage and stay any further Chinese immigration, and to compel the Chinese living in the United States to withdraw from the country.*"

We purposely avoid, as far as possible, the mention of names, which is only calculated to make what should be a contest of fact and argument degenerate into personal bickering. But the two gentlemen who appeared before this committee on the side of the oppressed, and in opposition to the madness that seems to rule the hour, at least in San Francisco, deserves high credit, not only for the ability with which they presented their case, but for the necessarily involved abnegation of any political aspiratoins which they may otherwise have cherished. Ignorance is very tyrannical, prejudice relentless, the mob despotic, and never forgives him who runs counter to its aims. If, as we have no reason to doubt, these gentlemen performed the work as a matter of duty, and because they believed themselves right, they have that satisfaction to which no other is comparable, viz: the proud consciousness of having battled manfully against numbers, prejudice and threats, for a weak people who had no other helpers.

Points upon which great stress is laid by those who favor the expulsion of the Chinese, for, whatever may be said by the attorneys anxious to make a good impression, such is the aim of the movement, are these:

1st. That the Chinese come hither under contracts of labor for a long term of years ; in short, that they are slaves for a term.

2d. That they do not come to live and die here, and that they do not become attached to our institutions.

3d. That they are vilely immoral in China, that infanticide is common, and prostitution a reputable profession.

4th. That by working at lower rates than the whites, they prevent white immigration to the Pacific Coast.

5th. That the portion of the city in which they live, is dilapidated and filthy.

6th. That the Chinese women in California, are almost invariably prostitutes.

7th. That, owing to the crowded condition of the Celestial Empire, the Mongolians will, unless prevented, overflow the whole coast.

8th. That large numbers of white people are now living in California in poverty and distress, being unable to find employment because of Chinese competition.

It will be at once seen that these points again ramify into many questions, and many other assertions are made against the Chinese as an immigrant. It will be impossible, without making a book, rather than an article, for us to do more than examine cursorily the above points in the light of the evidence before the committee.

1. *a.* That the Chinese often, perhaps in most cases, borrow the money in order to pay their passage to this country, does not seem by the evidence to admit a shadow of doubt; but this is simply an amount of money which they owe as individuals, and very far from being a certain number of years' service. Every kind of testimony has been received on that point, and a bitter and determined effort made to make out the Chinamen of California a set of actual "coolies," in the sense in which that word is applied to those who are kept in the baracoons of Macao till a cargo can be procured for Callao or Havana. But it requires simply the ability to read and not even that of weighing testimony, to see that the effort has been a failure. It is highly creditable to the Chinese that their obligation (personal) should be of such value among their compatriots as to induce the advance of this money, which must, in outfit, passage and allowances to those left behind, amount at least to $150 in each case. We are civilized and christian—there is about us no taint of the "heathen Chinee"—and yet our people might vainly canvass the monied men of our principal cities with a view to having their transportation expenses to California or to Australia advanced on what would be felt to be so slim a security. One of the witnesses expressed his feeling somewhat pointedly on that matter when he said, "If the teachings of Paganism make such honest men as I find the Chinamen to be, I think seriously of becoming a Pagan myself." They are not bound to work a certain length of time, but simply to re-

fund a certain sum of money. "The Chinese come here voluntarily in every case, except the women who are brought here for vile purposes; and every unemployed Chinaman is to-day open to a personal and individual engagement to work for any man who will have him. He agrees personally for the terms, receives the wages, and may break the bargain when he likes." When large numbers of laborers are required, the Chinese, owing partly to ignorance of our language, and still more largely to suspicion of our dishonesty, choose to allow some Chinaman to take the entire job when it is heavy, so that he may be responsible for their wages whether the white man breaks contract or not. Those of them who have become Christians assert unanimously that none of their countrymen come to this country under term contracts of labor, and that the individuals are perfectly free in their disposal of their purposes and services. Thousands of Chinese house-servants weekly receive their wages and dispose of them as they please. There never has been a particle of evidence before the Courts in any county of California to prove that a single individual of the Chinese population was a slave, as regards the disposal of his labor. Missionaries, Consular agents, those who have traveled in China, know the people in California, have studied the language, and have thereby the best chance of knowing whereof they affirm, assert that they are in no sense slaves, except in the sense of being, when they first land, unskilled menial laborers. Admitted, then, that many of them borrow money for the purpose of reaching California, in what respect do they differ from most white emigrants to the United States, or for that matter, from many emigrants from the States to California, save in the greater confidence that seems to be reposed in them. One witness, one too who by his position should have been a respectable man, deliberately charges their fidelity to such an engagement as a disgrace, states that the superior race would, and intimates that the Chinese should repudiate any such debt, and says that if "they knew enough" they would never pay!!

In short, any man accustomed to the hearing of testimony will be surprised to know how, in the face of all that goes to show their entire freedom, any one should have the effrontery to make the reverse charge. As individuals, they make their bargains, collect their money, leave at the end of any specified time, if it so please them, and when hired in gangs, each man keeps his account with the boss and holds the boss responsible. They are not slaves, because they act each man for himself independently, and look out for their own interests with great care. Of the whole 130 witnesses, there are but three who testify differently; and it is quite palpable that one of them is, for some reason, simply boiling over with hatred against the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which he thinks it possible to injure in this way; that a second has a crow to pluck with our American Consular service in China, while the position of a third, discredited as he is both as to persons, things, and his own position in China, is certainly not enviable; nor would the circumstances or attainments of any one of them make him a reliable witin the premises. Forty pages on end might be filled with testimony from this report, which would, however, at the end only multiply the sworn statement: "No Chinaman who ever came to this country is a slave in any other sense than that in which every poor man is a slave *por hac vice* to the person who loans him money which he feels bound to repay, or to the man who furnishes him labor. And this only refers to the poorest of those who come—to the mere agricultural laborers—since the merchants and artisans of course pay their own way."

2. *b.* Most of our readers have a general idea that the Chinese have not been, in California, treated over and above well, and with that their information probably ceases. Once in a while, they may have heard of a very severe outrage, but by the time such a case has permeated to the east, the salient points of its atrocity have been smoothed down, even when care has not been exercised at first in keeping the full facts from the general public. Without cumbering this article with particulars, which those who wish can get from the evidence, let it suffice to say that these miserable people have been, for the last twenty years, the almost invariably unresisting objects of unprovoked attack and brutal maltreatment, both individually and in a collective capacity, ranging in grade from assault and battery in the street, up to cold blooded murder, or that a vast majority of witnesses, testify that no attempt was made, as a rule, to arrest the assailants, and that it is on testimony that "no jury can be found in California, to hang a white man for murdering a Chinaman." Would it not, under these circumstances, be very strange if they did become attached to our institutions? It is proved that they are very much averse to appearing before our Police Courts, where they have learned by experience, that for them, arrest and conviction are almost synonomous terms, and they, therefore, for the most part, arbitrate their difficulties among themselves, before the representatives of some one of the "Six Companies," to one of which, all of them belong, and which seem to be benevolent societies similar to the St.George's, the St.Andrews's, the Germania, among foreigners, or to the New England Society among our own people. They are taxed to support our schools, but peremptorily refused admission to their privileges ; while their anxiety to avail themselves of the chance for education, is shown, not only by the efforts they have put forth in the direction of the public facilities, but by the roll-call of 3500 in the various Mission Sunday and class schools of the different associations maintained by the various

sects for the purpose of evangelizing them. Abundant witnesses testify that no other foreign population strive so hard, with as little encouragement, to learn our language, laws and customs. "If the right to citizenship depended solely on knowledge of our language, laws and a good moral character on the part of the individual applicant, numbers of Chinamen would ask for naturalization papers, and would have a right to them." "I have heard," says a gentleman before the committee, "many Chinamen say 'we want to become citizens but they will not let us; How can we become citizens when the laws will not allow us?' " Another says, and his evidence is of a piece with the preponderance, "If I had to come into the United States and be treated as I have seen the Chinese, I certainly should have but little admiration for the religion or the institutions under which such outrage was possible."

Though weak as a palliation even if true, it has been said that these assaults and these annoyances spring mostly from the ebullient prejudices of the hoodlum class, fanned into a flame about election times by politicians who want to make political capital thereby. But the assaults and injuries complained of are too persistent and too continuous—the failure to punish too constant for any one to accept such plea in palliation. Besides, what is to be said of the laws called the "foreign miners' tax," "the queue ordinance," "the cubic air law," "the laundry tax,"—all aimed against the Chinese and not even attempted to be enforced against any others—so wantonly unjust that even the most manifestly rabid chinaphobist witnesses are ashamed of them; that the State Courts of California have in many instances adjudged them unconstitutional, and that the very attorneys in this investigation shun openly to espouse them. These enactments were made in cold blood—carried out, many of them, for years—and display a fiendish malignity of causeless hate worthy of the foulest demons. By the "foreign miners' act," passed in the spring of '61, no one not a citizen or having declared his intention to become such, (California Judiciary excepted,) was allowed to engage in the operation of mining for gold or silver before paying a tax of $4 per month. This was the lowest amount, but it varied so as to be, at different times and places, $6, 8, 10 and 20 per month. Of course all others, if called on for such tax, at once said they were citizens, or went straightway and declared their intentions. No tax was ever gathered or expected to be collected out of any but the Chinese, and the Chinaman had no remedy. He could not declare his intentions, for the law precluded him, and that tax has been, until a few years ago, regularly extracted from the Chinaman just according to the greed and caprice of the deputies in the different counties. The "queue ordinance" makes it lawful to cut off the queue of the Chinaman sentenced for any offence in a police or other court, and when it is borne in mind that the Chinaman is looked upon as disgraced who has lost his queue, we leave the reader to imagine the horror of such a wanton mutilation. No one makes a pretence that this was aimed at any others than the Chinese. To do so would be to stultify onesself. The "cubic air law" under a penalty of $50 to $500 or imprisonment or both, forbids any one's sleeping in a room where there is less than 500 cubic feet of air for each occupant, carefully exempting from the operation thereof all prisons, hospitals, &c., so that the spectacle was often presented of men (Chinese) dragged by the hundred from their apartments, (which may or may not have had the requisite amount of air,) taken perspiring along the street and thrown into cells under the City Hall, where they did not average confessedly the one-twentieth amount of air that the ordinance called for. One policeman tells rather boastingly of having himself "*nailed*" over 1100 Chinese. It is not contended for a moment that there was a single arrest of a white man under the ordinance. The laundry ordinance is a jewel in itself. Individual Chinamen have little washhouses all over the city of San Francisco and carry the clothes of their customers to and fro in baskets. Now Chinamen know, for the most part, nothing about a horse or a vehicle drawn by one, and our honest and just City Fathers passed a law that all laundrymen having a two-horse vehicle should pay $2 per quarter, those having but one horse should pay $4, and those *that carried clothing in a basket, using Shank's mare, should pay $15 per quarter.* We channot go over all the tyrannical and oppressive measures enacted. These are quite enough to show the animus and to serve as a sample.

It is more than likely that the inducing cause of immigration on the part of the Chinese is a desire to improve his condition and wish to make money. In this respect he is exactly like the rest of the human family—like the foreigners who come hither from Europe, and like our own people who went out in the early days to California. It is, doubtless, all very pretty and poetical to talk of immigration for the purposes of becoming a citizen of a new commonwealth, assist in spreading the area of freedom; but we know that such is not the moving cause in one case out of a million. It was with pleasure that we saw the response of a present politician and former Governor of California to some of the falsely based questions put to witnesses on this issue. *Ques.*—"With what intention do the Chinese come?" *Ans.*—"I suppose *the same as we all came here—to make money.*" *Ques.*—"Do they come here to make a home—to become citizens, *as you did?*" *Ans.*—"When I came to California I did not come for any such purpose!" Had the first white immigrant to California, or in any other region, found themselves met by a hostile population and hostile laws; had they been beaten on the streets, robbed and plundered by superior numbers, discriminating taxes enforced against them under the guise of law, themselves refused citizenship and their children admission to schools, and all of them police protection, the chances are that they would not have fallen in love with either the people, the country, the religion or the laws. Yet, though this has been the case with the Chinese, we have direct evidence that "many of them become so attached to the country that they will not remain in China after having gone back, but return here; and the number would be much greater were their treatment better." From ⅛ to ½ of the entire male Chinese population of California consists of persons who are in the country for the second time.

3. *c.* We all know that the Chinese are not Christians, and it is at once admitted as not needing argument, that the morals of no non-Christian nation either are or can be equal to those of a people whose laws and habits, whose morals and actions are guided by the revelation of God's will. But the Chinese are not Atheists. They believe in God and in the immortality of the soul, are obedient to the laws, revere their parents, entertain strong affections for their families, support hospitals and charitable institutions. That they are equal to Christians in any of these respects we do not believe, though it must be admitted that the evidence of those who would seem to have had the best opportunity to know them both in China and here is very strong in their favor. To give even an abstract of that evidence would take up too much space, and we can only refer to the Report for it. "They are the most industrious people I ever saw. All classes are expected to labor, and a man would be taken up for begging if he was able to work." This is the testimony of an American Minister to China, and the bitterest enemies of the Chinaman admit his industry to the fullest extent. "I never saw," says another witness, "but one Chinaman drunk in my life, and him I saw in China."

It might reasonably be supposed that an industrious and sober people cannot be, as it is charged against the mongols, vilely immoral. But they are not Christians, still less saints. There exists such a thing as foeticide amongst nations called Christian. It may have occurred to some minds that our own cities are not quite clear of the "social evil," and Mormonism, with its polygamy, does not exist so far from San Francisco as to be altogether unknown in California. But we lay no stress on the *tu quoque* argument, preferring to take the exact views of the best informed witnesses on the points at issue, and they are these:

"The standard of morals in China is better and higher than that of any other heathen nation in the world. They are very fond of their children, and have a profound respect for age and learing."

"Even with all the hue and cry against them in San

Francisco, they have the reputation of paying promptly their rents, taxes and debts."

"It is said that about cities, where the morals of a certain class are very low, there is little hesitation in destroying female children at early birth. There are, however, laws against it, and proclamations are from time to time issued against it, and it is punished when the parties are detected."

"Prostitution is, in China, regarded with more aversion and disgust by respectable Chinese than it is, if possible, by Americans or Europeans, and a prostitute is more of a pariah in Chinese society than among Americans. After a graduate shall have passed the examination which would entitle him to official position, he must bring testimony that none of his family for so many removes has ever been a public prostitute. Failing this affirmative evidence, he cannot occupy the position."

"Gambling and prostitution is not legalized or licensed by law in China. The laws prohibit these vices, but petty officials, *as with ourselves*, receive bribes to permit the unlawful traffic."

"The marriage relation is honored and respected in China, and polygamy, though allowable, is not generally practiced. The children are all legitimate, and the second wives bear about the same relation to the first that Hagar did to Sarah."

Certain it is that there is no such shameless and open exposures, no such impudent solicitation either in the cities of China or in the commercial capital of California, on the part of the Chinese prostitutes, as is to be met with on any evening in the streets of San Francisco, on the part of white strumpets. It is a vile subject and we are in no condition to fling the first stone at the poor Chinese for this offence, even had we not the proof that when the more reputable Chinese tried to put a stop to the importation of such women, our own lawyers stepped in, invoking our own laws to maintain the abuse, which they did successfully, because there was "*money in it.*" In any case, experience has amply shown the possibility of breaking up at least the most offensive features of prostitution in any city, wherever the authorities are honest, sincere and earnest in the matter. Chinese prostitution had been so completely abolished in San Francisco, at the time of the meeting of this committee, that according to evidence, there were not believed to be forty remaining prostitutes in Chinatown. The same thing could have been done with their white sisters!! All that San Francisco needs to do, is to make and carry out good municipal regulations on this point. Chinamen will be glad of it, and will head their efforts; reputable citizens of all nationalities will rejoice, and their is certainly no need of calling on Congress to modify or abolish a solemn treaty for the purpose of doing away with one-tenth part of the prostitution of San Francisco.

4 *d.* In the face of constant repetition by Californians, of the cheapness of Chinese labor, we make the assertion that the labor of the Mongolian *is not cheap* as compared with the rates of wages in our Eastern States. Every one acquainted with the subject, knows or may know that the wages for farm hands (white) over the whole west and northwest, averages from $12 to $15 per month, with board, and that the wages of laboring men do not range beyond $1 to $1 25 per day. The evidence before us shows this to be the wages of the Chinamen in California, and it shows in addition that a Chinaman will not work much or long under price. He will get as much as he can, and when he can do better he leaves and does something else. As before said and amply proved by the report, there is no similarity between Chinese and slave labor. The fact would seem to be, that while the Chinese will undertake and successfully accomplish any kind of labor, from the severest tunnelling down to fruit picking, they are physically not the equal of our white laborers for severe and heavy work, and though they are very deft with the fingers and handy in light labor, yet they are, even after instruction, by no means fully up to the general run of white men. Now as no trade at all, that is, no handicraft is pursued in China, in the same way as with us, every Chinaman has to undergo what is tantamount to a sort of apprenticeship before he can expect to earn even his dollar per day. It is very true that the Central Pacific R. R. was built for the most part by Chinese, but they were not employed till every effort had been made by advertisement and otherwise to procure white men at $45 per month and board. When it was abundantly evident that white labor could not be procured, then, and not till then, the management very reluctantly made the experiment of employing the Chinese at $1 per working day, they to furnish themselves. Yet withal, it is in evidence that during the whole course of construction, *not a single white man was ever refused work*, and that the bosses and overseers, the bridge-builders, and in general all the skilled laborers were white men. It is admitted that but for the Chinese, that road, so important to the interests of the entire country, would not have been finished for at least ten years longer, and the four lateral roads in California, so important in opening up for settlement what had been hitherto an utterly undeveloped country, could neither have been begun nor finished. White men cannot be induced to work on the reclamation of the submerged and tule lands, the success of which, by Chinese labor, has added so many thousands of acres to the arable surface of California, so that, so far are the Chinese from preventing other immigration into the State by what is decried as their cheap labor, that they actually prepare the country for a larger immigration, and open up avenues for profitable occupation to the white settler.

In all the trades we have testimony of manufacturers to the fact that it would have been impossible to establish their special industries, and indeed out of question to continue them, paying the wages demanded by white men. They are quite ready to employ white men, will give them even the preference, but they insist, and as it seems to us, with reason, that they cannot pay higher wages than is paid at the East, because, in that case, it will be impossible for them to compete, and the eastern manufacturers will necessarily undersell them. Clothing is as cheap, and food much cheaper on an averrge, in California, than in the eastern States ; and we are utterly at a loss to see any reason why wages should be higher, or why the Chinaman, who is willing to work for the wages that the eastern operative and laborer is glad to get, should be stigmatized as a cheap laborer. It is plain from this concurrent testimony of the experts, that if it were not for the labor furnished in the establishment of manufactories by the Mongolian, few or no manufactories could have been established in California, and that State must have gone on, as it did for many years, expending yearly for manufacturer's products, a sum estimated at $40,000,000 per annum, a drain which no State could long have stood, certainly no agricultural State—which California has been essentially, ever since the failure of placer mining. The mistake seems to us to be on the part of those who are unwilling to face the consequences of the change from the condition of the early and mining, to the present and farming condition of the State, and who insist in maintaining a rate of wages which no farming community can possibly pay. Why should a white woman turn up her nose in California, at $8 or $10 per week, the wages paid by the Standard Shirt Co. If it be because they also employ Chinese labor, we fail to see any good ground to sympathize with her ; if it be because the wages is to low, we certainly must insist with the foreman who testified before the Commission, that if the Company attempts to pay more, it must sell its shirts and other underwear so high that it will be impossible to dispose of them at all on account of competition from eastern manufacturers. To us it seems self-evident that there would not be so many people in California, but for the labor of the Chinese, (a labor, be it owned, which would, without them, not be done,) and that this work has given, and gives employment and homes to hundred of white immigrants for which there would be otherwise no opening whatever.

5. *e*. That the sewerage of San Francisco is wretched—that the Chinese live for the most part, huddled together in a portion of the city known as Chinatown ; that the houses in said quarter of the city are dilapidated and filthy ; the streets unswept except as the Chinese inhabitants attend to it themselves, and that too many of them live in each house for comfort, cleanliness or health, we have no disposition to

deny. The evidence is perfectly convincing ; the same evidence, however, proves that the whole of Chinatown is owned by whites (mostly very wealthy) who rent out these dirty and dilapidated tenements to the Chinese at exceedingly high rates, and the Chinese have no option but to take up their quarters there, because they can get no other place. Poor when they first come, rarely becoming what would be called by our people comfortably off, it is not at their option to select the better built or otherwise more eligible portions of the city. It cannot be denied that for the purpose of making the rent come lighter on each one, larger numbers of them combine in the occupancy of a room than is desirable in a sanitary point of view, and yet it is very natural, when we consider the prejudice of the lower classes against them, that they should congregate together for protection, to say nothing of the natural desire on the part of all people to consort with those whom they know and whose language they can understand. But it is fair to say that the Chinese are not to blame for the lack of adequate sewerage in San Francisco. There is no reason why the authorities should not have kept up both *tenants* and *owners* of the buildings to the duty of keeping them clean. Will it be believed that while every other part of the city is kept clean by the city's carts and scavengers, and these people and this property pay taxes like all the other inhabitants and estates, the police testify that in five years they have not seen a city scavenger or cart in Chinatown, and that all the effort made in that direction is from the voluntary contribution of the Chinamen themselves ? Bearing in mind, that according to the evidence of the Chief of Police, it costs a small family more in San Francisco for water than for flour, it would take more money for the laboring Chinaman to supply himself abundantly with water than he could readily save or spare, $2 50 per month being the lowest rate for a spigot, it will be found that for a transient and poor population, unsupplied with facilities for sewerage or facile water privileges, the Chinese deserve credit for the pains they have taken to keep the place as clean as it is perhaps possible for such a crowded locality to be kept. Certainly the city which taxes them and has not sent a cart there in five years, which rents water at such high rates and furnishes no adequate sewers, has no right to complain of a population which taxes itself in one block at the rate of over $150 per month for the purpose of doing that which it has already paid the city to do. The remedy for dirty streets and alleys would rather seem to us to rest with the municipal authorities than in the abrogation of national treaties and special acts of the United States Congress. It is testified on all hands that the individual Chinaman washes frequently, bathes whenever he can, and in point of personal cleanliness compares favorably with the Americans. Still it is not to be doubted that their crowding together, as they are obliged to do, in great numbers at certain times of the year, when they return to the city after the busy season breeds foul air. In short, the city utterly neglects its duty in regard to Chinatown, and then throws the blame on the poor Chinese, who pay their own special (white) policeman a salary such that *he cannot swear to it within $500 per annum*, and pay additionally for such cleaning as, with their limited facilities, they can get done. It is in evidence that all the rest of the city except the Chinese quarter is cleaned by the Superintendent of streets, no other portion of the Corporation limits pays more tax for the purpose, than this. Why then are we to blame the inhabitants for the shortcomings of the city government?

6. *f.* The treatment of the Chinese in this country has certainly not been of a kind to encourage them to bring their families here. It must also be borne in mind that a very large proportion of the Mongolian immigration consists of men under 21 years of age, who were unmarried at the time of leaving China. They claim to have in San Francisco nearly 200 first wives, or wives of honor, and that there are many times that number of secondary wives. Lately, the testimony shows that many of them are marrying after our forms. But the great majority of the China-women on the Pacific Coast, of whom there must be fully 2000, nearly one-half residing in San Francisco, were, within the last two years, bought up in China by unprincipled Chinese dealers, male and female, and brought out to California under agreement to ply their vocation for a specified number of years. It is found to be a money making business by the dealers, who are banded together under the name of Hip-ye-tong, which association, though not unsavory, and decried and despised by the other six reputable companies, has kept up the nefarious trafic almost from the beginning of Chinese immigration into California. Of course we say no word in favor of the disreputable trade, but it does not differ materially from the system by which the supply of white courtesans is kept up. Of these latter there are in San Francisco very many of our own and of all other nationalities—many of them as degraded as it is possible to be—and they are more ruinous by far, even in proportion to the population, than are the Chinese of the same class. It is admitted by the Commissioners of Emigration, by the Chief of Police and by the Surveyor of the Port, that the Chinese merchants, the six companies, and the respectable Chinese have always been ready to assist the authorities both with means and information in putting a stop to the influx of this depraved class and in sending them out of the country; and the fact stands as clear as testimony can make anything, that the municipal authorities are perfectly competent to master the evil the moment they go earnestly to work at it. It is in clear proof that under the administra-

tion of Mayor Bryant, Chinese prostitution was reduced to a very small figure, and could not only be readily crushed out, but prevented from reappearing. It would be just as fair to hold the church-going population of San Francisco responsible for the existence of white prostitutes as to decry the entire body of Chinese in California because there are a few Chinese knaves who make money as panders and pimps to the vices of whites and Chinese.

7. *g.* The greatest bugbear of all, and viewed in the light of the evidence taken, the most absurd as a supposition and untenable in view of the facts, is the fear which some persons no doubt seriously entertain, but which far more express without believing, *i. e.*, that the Chinese will finally overflow the whole Pacific Coast. Nothing is easier than to call the attention of a gaping crowd to the teeming population of China, to their low wages at home, to the scantily populated plains and vallies of California, and to cry out that these strange people will inundate the whole country. But how do the facts stand? We shall certainly never again be able to offer such strong inducements to the Mongolian immigration as in the past, and it seems to be admitted on all hands that there are not now as many Chinese on the whole Pacific Slope as there were in California twenty years ago. Certain it is that their numbers have not grown so as to excite any reasonable alarm. The best reasoned exposé of the numbers of Chinese in California, that of Mr. Alfred Wheeler, taking arrivals and departures from the books of the Commissioners of Shipping, making allowances for the death rate, and taking the statistics of those whose bones were sent back, makes the sum total up to 1873 not over 93,000. Of course the unthinking people take very accurate notice of the numbers that arrive by every steamer, but they fail to pay the same attention to the large numbers of departures, nor do the large numbers who come and go away again because they neither like the wages nor the treatment, impress their imagination as do the arrivals. Would it not be fair to reason that if there be less than 100,000 Chinese on the coast after nearly 30 years, it would at the same rate take 250 years to bring hither a million, and that the inducements are and have been yearly diminishing. Nobody contends that the Chinese are fools. The evidence all goes to show that they are unusually shrewd and understand with great accuracy which is the buttered side of their bread. It follows, hence, that they will withhold the supply of labor just the instant there shall cease to be a demand and a profitable demand for it. The influx of Chinese labor has certanily heretofore depended altogether upon the demand, and we have seen that for many consecutive years there were as many departures as arrivals, and that during quite a number of others the surplus of arrivals over departures amounted to but a thousand or two. The

white population has increased and is increasing out of all proportion to the Chinese, nor in view of these patent facts would this craze have ever seized the white population but for the desire on the part of scrub politicians to make capital out of a prejudice so deeply rooted among the ignorant and unreflecting as is the hatred of foreigners. It is of a piece with the old "no popery" cry, in former years so sedulously cultivated by the same class in England and even for a short time in our own country. We know that the cost of passage, outfit, etc., is very large to the Chinaman, and that he will not pay it unless he sees a clear way of reimbursing himself for his outlay, which can only come from his being able to procure readily profitable remuneration for his work, which occupation will to him be wholly regulated by the increase of the white population, without which he is not wanted at all. The Chinaman neither makes nor calculates on making anything off his countrymen. His labor is of use but to the whites, and just in proportion to the increase of the latter and the subsequent need of working hands to develope the country will be the influx of Chinese. It has never yet borne a ratio of over *one to ten* at any time, nor is there any reason to suppose that it ever will.

8. *h.* We are constantly told by the anti-Coolie speechifiers that there are large numbers of white people living in distress in California, unable to procure employment, and that this arises from the fact that all the avenues to labor have been filled up by the Chinese. Of course, it is a plausible tale on the part of the speaker, and gladly heard by the bummer as forming a good excuse for his idleness; but the question arises, "Is it true?" "Will it wash?". We shall go no further than the Report for an answer, and we shall take only on this point the evidence of men, the rest of whose utterances show them to be pronounced Chinaphobists. A former Governor of California testifies:

"*There is at the present time no surplus of labor on this coast, taking both* (white and Chinese) *kinds together, and, in my opinion, such surplus has never existed.*"

A Judge of sixteen years' standing says:

"*I have never seen the labor market overstocked on the Pacific Slope.*"

A Chief of San Francisco police adds:

"*The hoodlums probably owe their existence to those absurd regulations of the various trades' unions, by which young boys are prohibited from being employed as apprentices. The fault lies with the trades and the Chinese have nothing to do with it.*"

The manager of the Tideland Reclamation Company says:

"*The Chinese fill places which white labor would fill very reluctantly, or not at all. We have by this means reclaimed over 40,000 acres previously worth nothing and now producing 50 bushels of wheat per acre. The labor is very disagreeable, but if done furnishes openings and opportunities for white peo-*

ple. We could not pay the wages which white men would charge, nor could we depend upon them to stay at any price. If the Chinese were taken away we would have to abandon the work."

A farmer of 27 years' standing says:

"*There is now, and there always has been employment enough for every body in this State, white, black and yellow. The wages of white men are about the same as 10 and 15 years ago.*"

A missionary long resident in California, but a friend of the Chinese, states emphatically:

"*Notwithstanding this peculiar cry about the evils of Chinese labor, labor for industrious white persons is as abundant, wages as high, living as cheap and the condition of the white laborers as good as in any other part the United States or of the globe.*"

A well known lady, who describes herself as a solicitress for life insurance, says:

"*There is plenty of employment. It is very hard to get a good house servant at the present, and at all times in California. Here in San Francisco no white girl will cook or work in a house where there are Chinamen. In my business the door is more frequently opened to me by Chinamen than by white women.*"

The disposition so manifest on this side of the continent on the part of the laboring population to crowd into the cities, exists largely in California, and the tramp question looming upon us, appears in California under the name of *hoodlumism.* Of course, under all circumstances, there will be instances in which the conditions of labor and employment will not seem at once to adjust themselves; but there can be no doubt that the time is not, has not been, and will not likely soon be in California, when an industrious man, willing to work, will be for two days unable to find employment at paying wages. Senator Sargeant states that 16 or 17 years ago, he has been called upon in San Francisco, by as many as twenty men in one day, each one telling him how impossible it was to find work, and how absolutely requisite for the sake of his starving family, was some Governmental position, but he admits that he did not believe the stories, nor do we, in like manner, give any credence to the tales of misery resulting from the industry of the Chinese, which we can trace to no more trustworthy sources than an Anti-Coolie League, or the palaver of hoodlums and tramps. No amount of wages will apparently induce the women to take service in the country or in the smaller villages; indeed, every where but in San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville, etc. One of the gentlemen who appeared before the Commission, tells how he came to San Francisco, (he resides in the interior) anxious to hire a number of white women at high wages. He went to Crosett's Intelligence Office on Clay st., and made known his design to the proprietors. There were over thirty there sitting in the office, who professed to want employment, but not one could be induced to listen a moment after learning that the place was in the country.

We have wished to say in as few words as possible what we think really needs saying on this very important subject, which, ill understood on the spot, and by many of those who are most immediately interested, is still more likely to be misapprehended by persons here in the East, who have not met the Chinese personally, and who are liable to be deceived by the persistent cry of the agitators of this question. But it is necessary to add a few general observations in order that the subject may be put on its proper footing.

Our first treaty with China was made by Caleb Cushing in 1844. It contained provisions for a modification of its terms at the end of twelve years. Such modifications were made by W. B. Reed. Essentially a new and much more elaborate treaty was made by Anson Burlingame in 1862, and certain additional articles were proposed by our Government, and accepted by the Chinese Emperor in 1868. The treaty is in all respects, far more favorable to us than to China; in fact it has been at our urgency that treaty stipulations were entered into at all, and we have reaped all the benefits therefrom resulting. How far we have deviated from the reciprocity clauses, it will be unnecessary to detail to any who are at all familiar with the course of California oppressive legislation and discriminating taxation of the Chinese. What our treaty promise is worth, wherein we bind ourselves that the subjects of either country shall have full rights to the educational establishments of the other, he will best know, who attempts to enter the most reputable China boy into a San Francisco school. Our subjects in China are punished (no matter what may be their crime) by their own law, administered by their own Consul; the Chinese are dragged before our Courts where they know neither the laws nor the language, and of which one of the witnesses says:

"*Judges and juries find it easier to decide against these people than against our own race, and heavier judgments are awarded against them for the same crimes; they fail of a proper hearing for want of adequate interpreters and proper counsel, and the public officers do not even attempt to conceal their prejudice against the Mongolians.*

As to the clause in the treaty promising immunity from insult and outrage, we will take the testimony of the San Francisco Chief of Police (surely without being on the side of the Chinese) who says:

"*Chinamen have in this city, again and again, been treated most outrageously, pelted, beaten and abused in a most shameful manner. If one is found alone by a number of hoodlums, he is very lucky if he escapes with his life or unmaimed.*" And a member of the police force testified that a week or two before the sitting of a Committee "*a political club going home, demolished all the Chinese wash houses on its route, and no arrests were made.*" Certainly this is not acting as becomes a great, liberal and magnanimous people. If we are superior we should demonstrate it by our acts, which should be kind, and by our adhesion to our treaty stipulations.

To contend, as some have done seriously, that the blind prejudice existing against the Chinese on the part of our own most ignorant citizens, is a good reason either for driving out those already here, or for restricting the immigration of others, is of a piece with that logic which would seize and punish the subject of an assault and battery for having been unfortunate enough to excite the rage of his assailant. But it comes very consistently from the attorney in this case, who says, fully knowing that he states a falsehood, that "*the Chinaman is the lowest in the rank of created intelligence.*" Such men and such arguments simply make themselves unentitled to a hearing, and discredit the little truth they might unwittingly utter.

This prejudice, agreeably to the testimony, does not exist on the part of native born Americans, unless it be politicians, office-holders and hoodlums; and the Chinamen themselves are reported to indicate that they have a pretty clear notion of the existing cause, when they say in cases of outrage upon or insult to one of their number, "*Bimeby, after election, all lite.*" Can it be possible that this great country is about to discredit herself not in the eyes of China alone, but of all Christendom, by attempting to withdraw from the terms of her treaty? Yet it must be confessed that she has never lived up to its terms, and that the whole course of our treatment of China in this matter, has been simply a repetition of the game called "Heads, I win; tails, you lose." As a matter of international law, we have no standing ground in proposing a change of the treaty; on grounds of national amity it is a direct insult, and as a simple matter of fact, we will get the worst of it if any change be made, for the Chinese are shrewd diplomatists, and the extra terratoriality clause has long been a sore point with the Chinese Government.

At this point it occurs to us to remark on the very apparent tendency on the part of many of the witnesses not to tell the unvarnished truth, but to allow their testimony to descend into a petty shuffling to prevent the bringing out of some point regarded as unfavorable by the witness, or to his party, for nearly every witness testified as a strong partisan. As an instance, the author of "that disgraceful piece of legislation," the queue ordinance, is asked under oath: *Question.—Was not that ordinance launched especially against Chinamen? Ans.—I know what you're driving at, and I'm going to dodge you if I can!!* There is a witness for you under oath; there is a man sworn to tell the truth and the whole truth! Was it much to be wondered at, that in the community where such a man is a law maker, judges and lawyers should testify in words tantamount to these: "*Perjury in our Courts by white witnesses is as common as the smoking of cigars on the streets!*"

We have it iterated and reiterated that the laboring class of the Chinese are sober, industrious, frugal and steady; and that their artisans are all this, and in addition, quick, intelligent and apt in business; while it would be impossible for human beings to get, for courtesy, uprightness and integrity a higher character than every witness, without exception, gave to the Chinese merchants. Surely the country would stultify itself, which should, at the behest of a few brawling politicians and a cry raised by them, attempt to prevent the influx of such inhabitants. It is more of them, not fewer, that is needed!

But it will be said that petitions largely signed have been sent to Congress and to the State Legislature of California, asking that a stop be put to Chinese immigration, and that few or none to whom they were presented refused to sign them. Admitted at once; and managed in the same way, petitions could be gotten up to take California out of the Union, or do any other equally absurd and lawless thing. It will at once be seen how the thing works, when it is considered that there are 2000 Anti-Coolie Leagues in San Francisco, or that each member of each club "*pledges himself not to employ Chinese labor; not to purchase any goods, wares or merchandise from any person who employs Chinese, and not in any way to sustain, foster or encourage either Chinamen or those who employ them.*"

That Article 3, Sec. 5 of the Constitution of the Anti-Chinese Union reads thus:

"*Measures shall be taken to ascertain and publish the names of the persons in this city, who employ Chinese,*" and that a paper was actully published (perhaps is so still,) containing such list of names. It will be readily seen that when such a crowd took a petition along the business streets, there would be more signatures than refusals to sign; the more so, as those in charge had instructions to add the names of those who refused, to this black list. Of course, this is a free country, but there are no more martyrs for principle in it than in any other; that is a very persuasive way of procuring the signatures of business men, and whether such organized ostracism is not a little too *Mollie Maguirish* for general usage in a country so free as ours, is liable to great question.

We add the testimony of a young woman who had worked with the Chinese in a shoe shop, lest it might be supposed that there was something offensive in the talk or manner of the Chinaman towards a young woman, which would account for the dislike heretofore referred to.

Quest.—"*You say girls object to working in the same shop with Chinamen?*" Ans.—"*Yes, sir.*"

Quest.—"*Are Chinamen rude to the girls?*" Ans.—"*No, they never say anything to the girls.*"

Ques.—"*Are they offensive in manners?*" Ans.—"*No, they never talk all day long; they sit and work and when it is time, they go home.*"

We have said nothing whatever upon the matter of naturalization of the Mongolian element in our population, deeming that to be a matter that has no necessary bearing on the subject in hand. The law has already decided it for us; and there are already in San Francisco hundreds of merchants and others resident who have no inclination to give up their own nationality though the inducements happen for them to be greater to reside under the Stars and Stripes than in their native land. Such might or might not be the case with the Chinese. Certain it is that California has one more member of Congress by their means than she would otherwise be entitled to. We believe that citizenship is, in the case of any emigration, the very slightest part of the inducement; yet we cannot help but deprecate such an expression on the part of a witness, and lament the necessity under which we are of believing that he spoke the truth as to a class, however small in our midst. Here are his words:

"*I think the first Chinaman that got naturalized would be hanged to the lamp post as he left the court room*, and we would rather have all Chinatown gifted *en masse* with the franchise to-morrow than believe that we had a majority of citizens in any one State capable of regarding such a deed with anything but abhorence. For though the action of the anti-Coolie clubs above referred to be coersive in its nature and renders their movement tyrannical—though it reveals an utter absence of the true basis of freedom, yet one is not so much appalled by the evident want of even the remotest inkling of humanity. Of Christian charity, it is hardly worth while to speak in either connection, still less in regard to another utterance of the anti-Coolie attorney, wherein he said that he would like *to stand on Telegraph Hill and see all the Chinese hung from the yard arms and see the ships burned as they came in.*" The strong and unanimous impulse of an intelligent people is seldom wrong, but may God preserve us from knaves and fools!

It is simply absurd for Californians to fancy that they can, for any length of time within this Union, uphold and maintain a different rate of wages from that which prevails elsewhere in the same country. That was possible in regard to her currency during the war; but the Pacific Railroad had not yet been built, and every day makes a repetition of it less possible. She might as well attempt to re-establish and maintain the $16 per day of 1849, for which wages, by the way, the white man could not purchase much, if any more, of the necessaries of life than he can to-day for a single dollar. The United States has many citizens residing in China, to whom she owes protection, and cannot consent at the cry of a small but very loud and active faction in California either to degrade their position there or allow them to be driven out. When we force a nation to open her ports in order that we may do business with her citizens, and make a solemn treaty with her, the reciprocity is not all on one side. California is after all but one State, and we cannot allow one State to dictate. Massachusetts has tried that business. South Carolia once took a hand at it. It can hardly be said that they were successful. In the matter of a treaty, we cannot ask what we refuse to concede, and China is not likely to grant privileges which she does not get.

A witness has well said that "it is we that keep the Chinaman apart, and not they. From the day they land till they lay their bones down, or go away, we are constantly building a wall of exclusion about them." And this, too, happens in a State that has 101 million acres of surface, of which there are only 20 million acres that, from mountains, necessary forests, overflow, &c., will never be arable, but of which there are not 4 million acres actually cultivated. It is this State, a few of whose inhabitants wish the Congress of the United States, in defiance of treaty obligations and of our proud boast that our doors were open to all God's creatures, to keep out whom? We will describe them in the words of a Chinaphobist witness: *A race indispensably necessary for the reclamation of the submerged lands, and which for steady employment in that grade of labor is, perhaps, better suited than any other race.*" The area of California can, be it observed, well support seventeen million inhabitants, and has not not now all told over 700,000. Of course, we have too much confidence in the good sense of the people of that State to believe for a moment that such is the will of any but a misled and noisy fraction, aptly and fitly led by such a man as appeared in the capacity of attorney before the Commission. But noise and cheer sometimes carry the day where decent conduct and sense are disregarded. No one believes that the good people of the United States take any such view of the question at issue, and yet we all can see that both political parties, apparently with a fear of losing a few votes, put an anti-Chinese plank into the campaign platforms. But this will not perplex any one who knows politicians and platforms—the subserviance of the one and the hollowness of the other. If a party equally blatant were to get up the cry, either in California or elsewhere, that inasmuch as men could have employment steady by digging up the land with a spade, we should ostracise every person who presumes to use a horse and plow for the purpose, we could soon have that inserted in platforms, anti-horse and plow leagues, sapient attorneys for them and equally sapient committees listening to their pleadings.

For our own part we should not be a bit more surprised to hear the horse and plow characterised as "*a terrible scourge*" than we were to read the report and recommendations of this Committee, and to learn therefrom that the latter are supposed—surely it must be in some very occult way—to have been deduced from the former.

We submit then, that whether we look at the question in the light of a treaty, or in the mere dollar and cent view, or in that higher phase (which many of our opponents are, doubtless, above taking into account) that a gracious Providence has endowed us with a certain number of talents that we ought to use for the benefit of the world; that both justice, self-interest, common humanity and heaven-descended religion preclude us from either oppressing, excluding or restricting the Mongolian whom we have amongst us further than as the law restricts ourselves; and such is the confidence that we entertain in the sober sense of an educated people, that we believe the Government of the United States incapable of such a gross wrong as the proposed action would involve.

IMMIGRATION OF CHINESE.

SPEECH OF

HON. AARON A. SARGENT,

OF CALIFORNIA,

In the Senate of the United States, May 2, 1876.

The Senate having under consideration the resolution submitted by Mr. SARGENT on the 20th of April, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate recommends to the President that he cause negotiations to be entered upon with the Chinese government to effect such change in the existing treaty between the United States and China as will lawfully permit the application of restrictions upon the great influx of Chinese subjects to this country—

Mr. SARGENT said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The existence of serious discontent in a community imposes upon Government the duty of inquiring into the causes which produce it. This duty is not conditional upon the soundness of the reasons for the discontent, because the disorders which may follow in any case must be injurious and may be disastrous to the welfare of the community. The prejudice of race cannot be considered when persons already among us appeal for protection. But when the question is as to the introduction of large numbers of people into the country whose admission is not a matter of right, but of policy, then we ought to consider whether they are a disturbing element, and whether exclusion is not the best and surest prevention against disorders which are difficult to cure when once fastened upon us.

Is the desire of the Chinese to select our country as a place of residence so clear a natural right that, rather than gainsay it, we are willing to submit to the disorders which must grow out of the prejudice known to exist against them? As to this prejudice, is it not based upon some reason? I intend to state some of the objections to their coming which account for the bitter opposition shown in California and elsewhere where they have already appeared in numbers. Are the people of the East quite certain that, if the Chinese were to land in their midst in the proportion of one in every eight of the population of the several States, they would be as easy as to the future as now? They should try and put themselves in our place, and deal with this question as if they too had among them this strange and dangerously unassimilative people, increasing in numbers from year to year.

GENERAL EXCLUSION ONLY REMEDY FOR EVILS.

The importation of coolies is now forbidden by statute. But it is found impossible to reach the cases of violation of its provisions, because neither side will disclose the existence of cooly contracts.

The importation of females for immoral purposes is also forbidden by statute. But the law is a dead-letter, because of the impossibility of obtaining proof of its violation.

And yet it is the almost universal conviction of Californians that nine-tenths of the Chinese male immigration is in violation of the former, and ninety-nine hundredths of the female immigration is in violation of the latter statute. The recan be no remedy but general exclusion; and the policy, justice, and necessity of that supreme measure I propose to discuss.

The resolution before the Senate looks to a modification of certain provisions of the existing treaty between the United States and China. Those provisions are as follows:

ARTICLE V.

The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties therefore join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subjects to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign country, without their free and voluntary consent, respectively.

ARTICLE VI.

Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation; and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United

States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.

The question of the restriction of Chinese immigration to the United States concerns at present the people of the Pacific coast more than it does Eastern communities. Our people are not always wise or deliberate in their treatment of the subject, and their irritability often leads them to extravagance of speech and exhibitions of heated prejudices which produce an effect at the East the very opposite of what they intend. The unreasonableness, or even violence, of discontented people does not, however, make the cause of their discontent any the less important. The remedy for the evils, if evils they are, of Chinese immigration lies entirely in the hands of the Federal Government. The treaty-making power must first be appealed to to seek such modifications of our treaty with China as will pave the way for legislation under the power of Congress to regulate commerce. It is very desirable, therefore, that all appeals to the Federal Government should be clearly based on reason, humanity, and national interest. The Chinese are to a very limited extent the objects of hatred or prejudice east of the Rocky mountains, and all arguments against their influx must be free from the familiar cries with which place-hunting demagogues assail the ears of mobs in California. That the presence of Chinese in this country in any considerable numbers is most undesirable is my firm conviction, as I think it is of the great body of those in California who aid in the protection of them in their treaty rights. The question of national duty in the premises comes to us at the threshold of any discussion, and we are obliged to consider it.

RIGHT OF EXPATRIATION.

The right of expatriation is asserted in the clauses of the treaty which I have read; and at the time that treaty was made the best elements of our people were profoundly moved by a strong inclination to humanitarian views. These two considerations are likely to be pressed against any restraints upon Chinese immigration. To these I first address myself; and first as to the right of expatriation. The rule of most European nations was, until within a few years, "Once a subject always a subject." It remained for the present Administration to obtain a surrender of this policy, and now, by treaties made with most of those nations since our civil war, their subjects may abjure allegiance to their native countries, become citizens of the United States, and be forever free from all obligations to their former rulers. This change has been wrought in the interest of political freedom. But let us beware how we give it too broad a meaning. Ours is a republican system governed by the people, native and adopted. But at no time has any invitation been extended to any man of foreign birth to become a citizen unless he espoused the cause of republicanism. There is not and never has been any law in this country which, if properly administered, would admit to citizenship an imperialist or a monarchist. Our laws have always provided for the naturalization of those only who are "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States," and who are "well disposed toward the peace and good order" of the country. Our fathers established this Republic for those already here and for those who might come among us preferring the republican over all other systems. It is a violation of law for any court to naturalize any person who is not intelligently attached to our form of government. It was to enable proper candidates for citizenship to release themselves entirely from obligations of duty toward other Governments that we have insisted on the right of expatriation. The insertion of a declaration of this right was, in my opinion, out of place in our treaty with China for the reason that the people of that Empire are not entitled to the political privileges its insertion there seemed to imply.

THE CHINESE ARE NOT INCLINED TO REPUBLICANISM.

They are the most ancient and constant of all imperialists. They are not divided on the subject. There is no liberal faction in China aspiring to a government of the people, by the people, for the people. They are not pupils at our feet. They call us "outside barbarians," and commiserate our political condition. They are saturated with the governmental training and habits of fifty centuries. We have no laws under which they can properly be made citizens. The same is true as to natives of other countries who entertain similar views as to government. True we admit to citizenship Europeans without any very rigid cross-examination of the witnesses who testify to their republicanism. But we all know that two witnesses do. in each case of naturalization, testify that the applicant is attached to our political system. It is safe to say that no Senator here could, if sitting on the bench, conscientiously decree that any subject of the Chinese Empire had, upon a fair trial, established his claim to be regarded as a convert to republicanism. So we may, I think, with the utmost fidelity to our established doctrine of the political right of expatriation, if there are adequate causes moving thereto, ask the Chinese Government to allow us to recall the declaration of it as to its subjects.

THE HUMANITARIAN VIEW.

Second, as to the humanitarian view. The "enthusiasm of humanity" was a great moving power in this nation in 1868 when the Burlingame treaty was ratified. The national exaltation, growing out of the emancipation of a race and the sorrowful events of the civil war, had its climax in the opening of our gates to all minkind. We took counsel of our generosities. This was grand and noble if it conflicted with no still higher duty.

But I have come to believe that we were too emotional in our action. We looked too much to the sentimental side and too little to the possible effect of our action on the future generations whose trustees we were.

When a proclamation of neutrality was issued by President Washington, hostile criticisms were made upon it as being contrary to an existing treaty with France. Alexander Hamilton, in meeting these attacks, took occasion to give some views which I will quote as to the duty of nations in treaties with other Powers. In the fourth of the letters signed Pacificus, he said:

> Instances of conferring benefits from kind and benevolent dispositions of feelings toward the person benefited, without any other interest on the part of the person who renders the service than the pleasure of doing a good action, occur every day among individuals. But among nations they perhaps never occur. It may be affirmed as a general principle that the predominant motive of good offices from one nation to another is the interest or advantage of the nation which performs them.
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> Indeed, the rule of morality in this respect is not precisely the same between nations as between individuals. The duty of making its own welfare the guide of its actions is much stronger upon the former than upon the latter; in proportion to the greater magnitude and importance of national compared with individual happiness, and to the greater permanency of the effects of national than of individual conduct. Existing millions, and for the most part future generations, are concerned in the present measures of a Government; while the consequences of the private actions of an individual ordinarily terminate with himself, or are circumscribed within a narrow compass.
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> Whence it follows that an individual may, on numerous occasions, meritoriously indulge the emotions of generosity and benevolence, not only without an eye to but even at the expense of his own interest. But a government can rarely, if at all, be justifiable in pursuing a similar course; and if it does so ought to confine itself within much stricter bounds. Good offices which are indifferent to the interest of a nation performing them, or which are compensated by the existence or expectation of some reasonable equivalent, or which produce an essential good to the nation to which they are rendered, without real detriment to the affairs of the benefactor, prescribe perhaps the limits of national generosity or benevolence.
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> It is not here meant to recommend a policy absolutely selfish or interested in nations, but to show that a policy regulated by their own interest, as far as justice and good faith permit, is and ought to be their prevailing one.

In a note he adds:

> This conclusion derives confirmation from the reflection that under every form of government rulers are only trustees for the happiness and interest of their nation, and cannot consistently with their trust follow the suggestions of kindness or humanity toward others to the prejudice of their constituents.

If the Chinese are not fit subjects for naturalization, and do not come within our political dogma as to the right of expatriation, and if a wise self-interest may be made the basis of our dealings with all nations, it remains to be shown why the immigration of these people at present and probable rates will work harm to this country. The objections to the Chinese are plain, practical, and homely. They can be easily understood and appreciated by those who wish no harm to us, the present principal sufferers, if they will listen; and the evils, whose weight we bear, can be proved beyond dispute if there is any faith in human testimony.

CHINESE POPULATION EXPELS ALL OTHER.

The difficulties surrounding this problem of Chinese population are continually present to the people of the Pacific States and Territories. These are manifold, and some of them I propose to present for the thoughtful consideration of the Senate.

First. Experience has shown that Chinese population expels all other, as inferior currency expels all better kinds. The process has been going on for years notably in San Francisco, as well as in other Pacific communities. A landlord will rent a single house on a street to Chinamen, who at once crowd it to repletion with their compatriots. They take ordinary rooms, say of ten feet in height, put in a false floor half way to the ceiling, and crowd both floors thus made with bunks, and as many human beings as can be pressed into the space sleep therein. The atmosphere becomes fetid, and a sickly smell pervades the neighborhood, which causes the tenants of the houses to the right and left to vacate. These houses cannot be again rented to white persons, the rents fall, and finally the Chinese get possession. This process goes on in each direction until the whole street is abandoned to Chinese. The property has fallen in value, becomes dilapidated and offensive, and the street is as much dedicated to Chinese uses and lost to any other class of residents as if it were a street in Hong-Kong or Canton. Hotels and churches share the same fate as ordinary dwellings and stores. Withal there is unutterable filth and plague breeding nuisances. In my excursions through the Chinese quarters in San Francisco, under protection and guidance of the police, I have penetrated, two stories under ground, into opium and gambling dens, where the stench was almost unendurable, reached by passages where a man cannot walk erect, between walls dripping with the exhalations of neighboring sewers, and where the filthy water at the bottom was only avoided by careful stepping on narrow, broken planks laid down. Here I found swarms of Chinamen, thick as maggots in cheese, smoking opium, cooking or eating rice, or lying in their bunks or squatting, indifferent to the invasion of their horrible domain. No class of population known to the United States can endure contact with these squalid denizens. The white and the negro, the American, Frenchman, and Spaniard, all seek residence and places of business elsewhere. Even the lowest classes of society flee away. Brothels and gambling dens, except Chinese, cannot endure the neighborhood. House by house the whole street is absorbed and doomed, and when the street is filled up through its entire length, and will contain no more, the process commences and goes on in another street and then another, until it seems to be only a question of time whether the Chinese will occupy the entire city of San Francisco. The processes of the past few years clearly point to that result, unless they are arrested. The moving forces that have subjugated six large blocks can subjugate twelve and a hundred. The 30,000 Chinese in San Francisco are but the advance of a growing host, which conquers its way, not by strength, or skill, or subtlety, but by unsavory, repellant characteristics, that elbow out of the way all competitors. Under this condition of things a "Chinese quarter" becomes with time a misnomer. It will be a "Chinese half" or "whole" of the city. I desire to speak without exaggeration. I describe the things I have seen—the vast numbers annually arriving in California, their modes of acquiring and occupying room in San Francisco and elsewhere, the constant dashing of a dark wave of immigration making daily more and more inroad on the white portion of the city, covering daily more and more space, and never retiring an inch under any circumstances; and I think my anticipation is warranted that the future will see San Francisco a purely Asiatic city unless some means are devised to avert this calamity.

THE MARCH OF INVASION.

A writer in the San Francisco *Call* of March 27, 1876, graphically describes the process to which I have alluded. He says:

> In the heart of the city, not a stone's throw from the city hall, and dovetailing into the filthy and dilapidated tenements of the Barbary coast, the smoke of burning sandalwood, punk, and opium, and the greasy smell of roast pig declare with odoriferous emphasis that we have a Chinese quarter. From Jackson street, whose gutters are used as open-air sewers to carry off slops and swills, to Sacramento street, where the better class of merchants do business; from Kearny street on the east to Stockton on the west, covering an area of six large blocks, the Chinaman is literally master of all he surveys. Month after month and year after year he pushes step after step in the march of possession, and where he once puts down his slipper he holds his ground as determinedly as though he had taken root in the soil. Give him a two-years' lease of a building in good condition in the quarter, and, no matter how high a price you fix, he will pay it willingly. He will do more. He will not ask you to make any repairs; the walls will never require whitening or replastering, and the paint on the outside may crack and fall off, yet he will never trouble his landlord. With a national pride which would be highly commendable were it not that it is so largely adulterated with bitter contempt of the outside barbarian, he will go to the expense of painting the front of the building with white, green, and vermilion, so that outside as well as inside the house will display a Chinese character. He will remodel the interior by making one hundred rooms out of twenty; and so economical of space is he that a room not larger than a small state-room will furnish ample accommodations for half a dozen men. Each squad does its own cooking, rarely with a small stove, generally with a fire in an open dish or brazier. An overdose of smoke now and then does not produce the slightest annoyance, so far as the inmates are concerned. They are smoke-proof and heat-proof. A house which has been so tenanted for six months becomes unfit for any other purpose, and as the months roll by the greasy carbon accumulates on the walls and the floors in thick layers. When the lease has expired the Chinese tenant makes his own terms, and either obtains a release at a small figure or buys the property. Not many years ago Washington street, from Dupont to Stockton, was one of the main promenades for ladies residing in the northern part of the city who desired to go to Kearny and Montgomery streets to do their shopping. Then it was considered a good business block, and the millinery and hair stores did a flourishing trade. On Sundays the religiously inclined might be seen going to and coming from the First Baptist church, between Dupont and Stockton streets,
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> BUT THE UNCLEAN TIDE
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> ebbed and flowed nearer and nearer until it washed its very foundations, and refined ladies could no longer submit to be jostled at the church-door by the Mongolian chiffonier or highbinder, or allow the pure minds of their little children to be contaminated by the surrounding atmosphere of degradation and moral filth. The necessity for changing the site of the church became so apparent that a few months ago the property was sold to the Chinese, who made extensive alterations upon it, and it is now used as a manufactory for slippers, cigars, shirts, and clothing, besides several other purposes best known to the Chinese, among which may be mentioned tan games and worse uses. This change had not taken place very long before the walls of the edifice, which had so often echoed back the sweet sounds of prayer and the deep tones of the organ, rang with the affrighted shrieks of a Chinaman who was slashed with knives by his countrymen until his life flowed from his wounds with his blood. The
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> RED AND GOLD SIGN-BOARDS
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> of the Mongolians are multiplying fast in this direction, and already they begin to stare in the face of the city hall, which, if the signs of the times be fulfilled, must ere long resound to the horrid screech of the Chinese fiddle. The mayor of the city from where he stands in front of his office can see not one hundred yards away the green and gold balconies of the joss-house on Clay street, opposite the plaza, where two decades ago the eloquent Colonel Baker expressed in glowing language the grief of the State over the mortal remains of Senator Broderick. And it was not many weeks back that a very interesting debate in the supervisor's chamber was rendered almost inaudible by the deafening reports of fire-crackers and the beating of gongs a block away in honor of the Chinese new year. The march of invasion, from all indications, will not stop at Kearny street on the east or at Sacramento street on the south. Should the tide of immigration continue to pour in upon us as it is doing at present, it may be predicted within a year or two how soon Merchant street, Montgomery block, Commercial street, and portions of Pine and California streets will come into the possession of our Asiatic population; for property-owners will lease or sell when they are offered good prices, and the shrewd and indefatigable Chinese speculator will not hesitate for a mere question of present value when so much profit looms up in the near future. Indeed, such a prediction would not be regarded as presumptuous when the changes that have taken place within the last six years in what were once prosperous business localities are taken into consideration. The question so often asked as to the cause of the
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> DECREASE IN THE VALUE OF PROPERTY
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> in a certain portion of the city might be truthfully answered by referring to the Chinese

quarter, which is fast extending as a black desert, cutting off in a great measure desirable communication between North Beach and the eastern and southern business centers.

The streets mentioned by this writer are among the most important in the city. California street is our Wall street. Montgomery Block may be properly likened to the Astor House.

DANGER OF FIRE.

The danger of fire in these crowded quarters is very great, and the carelessness of the Chinese has occasioned many and destructive conflagrations in our cities. The loss of property in the State from this cause has been incalculable. I desire to fortify all the positions I take on this subject of the Chinese by evidence, for I know the Senate and country will not be satisfied with generalities. Unfortunately the material is but too abundant. I have here a report of the board of fire wardens of San Francisco, filed with the board of supervisors, April 20, 1876, and the details are shocking of the modes in which the fire-fiend is tempted in a city where conflagrations are most disastrous owing to the prevalent high winds and long periods when no rain falls and wood becomes like tinder:

> SAN FRANCISCO, *April* 20, 1876.
>
> GENTLEMEN: In accordance with resolution No. 8614 passed by your honorable board April 10, 1876, the undersigned, fire wardens, have made an examination of that portion of the city occupied chiefly by Chinese. We visited the old Mansion House, old California Hotel, old St. Francis Hotel, Portsmouth House, Callaghan's, Kane's, and other buildings, and find them all alike as to carelessness in the use of fire. In each of the buildings visited we found on each floor a rude open range, built on pieces of boards a few inches from the floors, where cooking is done; also, scattered throughout the building and placed on the bare floors, and sometimes on the window sills, a number of old five-gallon oil cans, with pieces of old iron hoops laid across the top, in which fires are made and cooking is done. In many places the floors had been burned from this cause. In one building we counted eleven of these cans on the floor in the space of thirteen feet. We also found upon the roofs of many buildings frame structures used for kitchens and poultry coops, also fences and bulkheads built across the openings in the chimneys. Another very dangerous practice is the building of large platforms over the roofs of houses, some being used as wood-yards and others for the purpose of hanging out clothes.
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> The Chinese are in the habit of building awnings and balconies with a roof in the front and rear of their buildings, and in a short time they are inclosed and turned into kitchens or sleeping-apartments. On one narrow alley (St. Louis) we found from the upper stories of buildings on each side of those inclosed balconies which come within two feet of meeting. It is next to impossible to detect the violators of these ordinances, for these people will not inform on each other, and the work is generally done at night and on Sundays.
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> In Chinese wash-houses it is the universal habit to build a brick furnace on the floors, leaving the fronts open; they put in long sticks of wood, burning them off by degrees, one end being in the fire and the other lying on the floor.
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> We would respectfully recommend that some ordinance be passed prohibiting the erection of those platforms on the roofs of buildings all over the city, and also an ordinance compelling the owners or persons having control of any building in which fire is used to provide some safe way of building fires, both for heating and cooking, either by placing in such buildings fire-places, stoves, or secure ranges, of sufficient capacity to accommodate all the inmates.
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> Respectfully,
> JOHN L. DURKEE,
> GEORGE W. CORBELL,
> JAMES RILEY,
> *Fire Wardens.*
>
> HON. BOARD OF SUPERVISORS.

DANGER OF PESTILENCE.

Dickens' genius described very graphically a scene of squalor in Tom All-alone's alley in London. Even his pen would fail to do justice to the Chinese alleys in San Francisco, where these people are packed into rooms and improvised hovels reeking with the slime of nastiness, breathing a tainted atmosphere, their clothing infected with unwholesome odors and the germs of disease and death. It is almost a miracle that a pestilence has not ere this raged in the city. Eastern accounts say that the "black death" has started on its travels from Asia to Europe. If it ever strikes San Francisco it will find all the conditions among the Chinese that can add to its horrors and stimulate its voracity.

A legislative commission is now sitting in San Francisco taking testimony on this general subject, and the facts it is collecting are truly terrible. I shall cite some of them before I conclude. On the question of the numbers of Chinese, Rev. Otis Gibson, for ten years a missionary in China and the past ten a preacher to the Chinese in San Francisco, stated that he had attempted enumeration, and by the best information he could get the number on the coast is 150,000, in California 60,000, in San Francisco 30,000; and among all this great number he says there are not a hundred families. His testimony seems to have been given in a friendly spirit to the Chinese; but he said, "Should the influx increase in the same ratio for the next ten years as the last ten, they would seriously injure the State." I add that in fifty years they will, in the same ratio, possess the State. There is not a town in California or Nevada that has not its street or streets of Chinese, its peculiar population, continually increasing.

THE EAST TO BE INVADED.

But the flood is not confined to the Pacific States or the Territories. The Chinese follow lines of travel everywhere, and have reached the Atlantic cities in less numbers, but yet numerous enough to excite local comment and alarm. The New York *Herald* recently said:

> Even here in New York there is a joss-house, and Donovan's alley has long been the wonder of the curious and the grief of the Christian missionary on account of its immoralities and degrading exhibitions. Some way must be found to subject this Chinese question to control, or the leprosy which comes into the

country with every ship from China will taint and corrupt not alone the body-politic, but the sanctities of society and the sacredness of religion.

Only a few trickling streams have leaked out from the Pacific, giving, however, to the East a taste of the quality of the flood. But as the reservoir there fills higher and higher these streams will swell, and Donovan's alley in New York will not be singular in its immoralities and degrading exhibitions. It is well that the people and press of the East should awake to the real merits of this Chinese question, and begin to understand the threatening evils of Chinese immigration. The *Herald* in the article from which I have quoted says:

> The Chinese question in this country, and especially on the Pacific slope, is one which must soon become of absorbing interest. It is not merely the problem of cheap labor, though that in itself is one of the utmost importance, but a question affecting the highest interests of society and civilization. We might not view with great alarm the undermining of American industries by Chinese monopoly if this were all there was any occasion to fear, but the very process by which they gain their ends is destructive of our social life. Their wants are few, and they live in bunks instead of houses. They work cheap until they drive off all competition, and then they raise the prices. The first business upon which they precipitated themselves in California was the manufacture of cigars, and now they monopolize it. They are seizing upon the manufacture of shoes in the same way, and as their numbers increase they are extending their enterprises and industries in every direction. But what is worse, they are disseminating also their debasing practices and immoralities. In China there is much of the lowest as well as the highest civilization to be found in any country. It is not the intelligence and culture of the Celestial Kingdom which come to America, for these seldom emigrate, and China is no exception to the rule. The lower classes only come here, and they bring with them their base arts and debasing practices, and set them up side by side with our civilization.

INJURY TO WHITE LABOR.

Second. Another evil of Chinese emigration is its injury to white labor. The merit is claimed for the Chinese that they are industrious, and this is true of a considerable class of them, although as many are lazy, opium-stupefied drones. But their very industries are a source of injury to the community, in that they undersell other labor and work for prices on which no white man can support a family. Our growing young men and women find scant employment and in few avocations, because cheap Chinese labor is taken in preference by employers. If the community is built up by such industry it is not as a New England or Western village is built up. It is Foo Chow, and not Cedar Rapids; it is Donovan alley, and not Broadway; it is the hovel, and not the home; the joss-house, and not the church; it is not republican; it is not civilization. As I had once occasion to say elsewhere, a slower growth of a community, with the elements in it only of Christian civilization, seems to me far preferable to rapid development by an alien heathen population. Five stalwart German or Scandinavian emigrants with their families would be better for the real interests of New York than the whole Chinese population of Donavan alley. If the object of society is merely to accumulate wealth in the hands of an upper class and have the laborer a mudsill—if American civilization and republican institutions could coexist with such a theory and practice—then it might be well to crowd every avenue of labor with Asiatics and rejoice in the cultivation of the last inch of soil, the working of the deepest mine, the guidance of every wheel of industry by the adroit Chinese to the exclusion of white labor. But while white laborers need employment, as they always will; while their families must live and their children be educated; while Europe offers to us every year hundreds of thousands of emigrants of cognate language, religion, literature, civilization, and hopes, it may be well to husband our undeveloped resources for the profitable employment of the future rather than exhaust them beyond the needs of the present. The crowded Atlantic States have sent out their enterprising young men and women to the West in great numbers, while Europe has furnished its best populations to create new homes there. The national development during the past ten years has been enormous. A population easily resolving itself into the mass of American society, readily acquiring our language, honoring our institutions, worshiping our God, unexcelled in industry and skill, spreads like a flood over the Western prairies, fertilizing like the swellings of the sacred river. Cities have sprung up all over the land, tied together in every direction by lines of busy railways. There has been haste of development, it is true. The stumps of the original forest trees are seen in the streets; the prairie mud is innocent of MacAdam. But there is life and labor and sure advancement and contentment; there is the life and beauty of our political and Christian civilization; the school-house and the church nestle among the cottages or rise in grander proportions among the cities. Is not this development, which is natural in its order and without limit of duration or capacity so long as this land is freer than Europe and has that which Europe measurably lacks, undeveloped resources open to the enterprise of the laborer and lands untilled which he is asked to accept as a home—is not such sure and essentially American development better than that which could possibly be obtained by transporting the Chinese on any terms to occupy those fields and exclude their prospective possessors? Take Iowa, built up by the means which I have indicated. Would it not be undesirable to have its population retrograde to the level of Chinese, however industrious the latter may be? For the purpose of comparison I need not fill up the picture. Much besides industry is needed to make a desirable community in this land, and Iowa has the industry and development without the Chinese. But there is no practical difference in the result between the recession of an American community—its falling back to the level of Chinese—and the displacing or anticipation of such a community by Chinese. In a few words, the growth of American and the influx of European population is developing our resources healthily and rapidly; and it is better for us and our posterity that these causes which have made us a great nation should have unimpeded sway.

EXPERIMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

But these results are necessarily impeded by any cause that expels white labor or reduces it to servile competition or conditions. Capital is selfish and as a rule will employ the cheapest labor. Were it not selfish, competition compels it to do so. He who produces the most cheaply commands the market. In San Francisco the laborer cannot support his family for less than two dollars or two and a half per day. The Chinaman will work for one, and monopolizes the market. The white laborer must emigrate or starve. The Chinaman is a constant threat to the unskilled laborer, and is gradually becoming a threat even to the skilled laborer. He is very imitative, and soon acquires sufficient art to compete with the best workmen and to supplant them. The operation of these principles has been seen on a limited scale in Massachusetts. The only protest thus far devised by labor against supposed wrongs by capital—perhaps not a wise one—is the "strike," where the employes combine and refuse to work except on conditions proposed by themselves. Such a strike occurred at North Adams, upon which a large manufacturer imported enough Chinamen to carry on his establishment, refused thereafter and still refuses to employ white men, and the latter were compelled to go elsewhere for work. The effect of this movement was to overawe the labor leagues. What had been done in one case could be done in many, until there would be no employment for white men in Massachusetts. The workmen who were expelled undoubtedly had families and separate establishments; their children grew up around them, and these were of some use to society besides contributing by their labor to enrich an employer. But by the best information I can get their successors live in crowded quarters *a la Chinois*, without families, and without assimilation with the people of the place. They are a success so far that they have made a single employer very rich, while two hundred men have been exiled from home and means of support.

That which has been seen at North Adams on a small scale, and under the least repulsive conditions, goes on in California upon a large and increasing scale, and with surroundings of squalor and misery. But the presence of the Chinese in numbers is a menace to white labor everywhere—a continual threat of ruinous competition, of impending disaster. That it has not been tried on a larger scale by the employers of Massachusetts thus far is owing to the facts that it takes capital to bring Chinamen there and the example has partially overawed white labor and made it more tractable. But what can be done is shown; and when Chinamen become abundant in Massachusetts, as they will in time, Massachusetts employers will use them as they do in California to the exclusion of whites, and the latter will be generally expelled.

An address adopted by a meeting of 25,000 people at San Francisco on the 5th of April of this year contains a condensed statement of the effects of Chinese labor competing with the necessarily more costly labor of white men:

> The committee see in this Chinese immigration an evil of great present magnitude. It has driven thousands of our laborers from their employment, and has driven many to want and idleness, and some to poverty and crime. It has taken labor from women—such work as gave them honest and virtuous independence, and has driven too many of them to resort to practices of shame and guilt.
>
> It deprives our boys of the opportunity of employment, and contributes to close against them the avenues of trades and to manufacturing and mechanical employment.
>
> The Chinese are an injury to our property-owners. If the 75,000 Chinese were not in our city their places would be filled by 75,000 laboring white men and women owning homesteads, renting houses, raising families, and supporting dependents.

CHINESE AND PACIFIC RAILROADS.

It has been objected that the Chinese were useful in building the Pacific Railroad. They did build the Central Pacific; but the Union Pacific, much larger, was built as quickly and well by white men, and the same labor was within reach of the builders of the Central Pacific. It was a mean policy that gave the bounty of the Government to cooly owners, when free white men would have gladly earned a share of it.

EFFECTS ON CAPITAL.

But the disastrous effects are not alone with labor. Cadmus sowed dragons' teeth and they sprang up armed men and destroyed him. Manufacturers in California have resorted to Chinese labor to make cheaper production, and find their business ruined by the competing Chinamen whom they have taught. This is very clearly shown in an interview published in one of the San Francisco papers with a firm of shoe dealers recently held, and it tells the story so concisely, and as every one in San Francisco knows, so truthfully, that I will read it:

> S. S. Wolf & Co., on Sansome street, were then interviewed. The factory is on the ground floor, and about forty Chinamen are hammering away at the lasts.

REPORTER. Mr. Wolf, you seem to have no hesitaucy in letting your Chinese shoemakers be seen.

Mr. WOLF. No, sir. Some of them in the city send their Chinamen home by the back way, while the few white men are paraded out the front door. We have to employ Chinamen, much as we dislike them. If we were to discharge them and employ white men we would have to mark up our goods, and if a man should display a pair of shoes made by white men and mark them $3 50 a pair and his next neighbor should display a pair of shoes made over on Dupont street and mark them $3, there is not one person out of a hundred but would take the Chinese shoes.

REPORTER. Do most of the shoe-factories employ Chinamen?

Mr. WOLF. Every one of them, sir; every one of them. Don't care what they advertise, all of them who make shoes employ Chinamen. Those who pretend to manufacture, and do not, buy their stock direct from the hundreds of Chinese co-operative factories, and lots of them actually have the cheek to advertise these goods as made by their own white shoemakers.

REPORTER. Have the Chinamen engaged in boot and shoe making on their own hook to any extent?

Mr. WOLF. There are over a hundred places where they manufacture; all along Clay, Commercial, Dupont, and Sansome their little stalls can be seen. They are like monkeys, they can imitate anything. They can make shoes cheaper than I can. They have their drummers out over the country like white men, and if a man offers the cash they will sell BELOW THE ACTUAL COST of labor and material rather than miss a sale. If I were to discharge these forty men to-morrow they would put in ten or twelve dollars apiece and rent a cellar somewhere, and by Monday they would have established a ruinous competition. The small shoe-stores buy of them because they can make a shoe so exactly resembling mine that customers cannot tell the difference, and at 10 to 20 per cent. lower than I can possibly make them with my high rents.

REPORTER. Do you mean to say that all shoe-stores buy their goods?

Mr. WOLF. Yes, every one of them, big and little. In a certain line of goods they have to or else they cannot sell them. My business is gradually running down. Two years ago I employed one hundred and fifty Chinamen; now I only have forty.

REPORTER. Then you men who initiated Chinamen into the mysteries of shoe-making have succeeded in cutting your own throats?

Mr. WOLF. Yes, that's just what we have done, and its getting worse and worse. If one of our men gets mad and leaves we know that he can get all the leather he wants, and in a few days will commence to put his own shoes on the market, and if the stores don't buy them they are put into the auction-room. Country merchants come here and say they would like to trade with our house, but they can get the same goods direct from the Chinese factories 10 or 20 per cent. cheaper, and away go our best customers to the Chinamen. The Chinamen peddle their goods around the city in baskets and retail them lower sometimes than our wholesale rates.

THE CHINESE PROSPERING.

REPORTER. Is their business on the increase?

Mr. WOLF. I should say so. Every China shop has one or two apprentices, and as fast as one of our men gets a chance and saves up a little money, he quits and goes off for himself, and we have to take in another apprentice.

The reporter continues:

A large number of other shops and stores were visited and the same story was told. Many of them denied employing Chinamen, but at the same time all the shelves showed that if they did not employ Chinamen directly they do worse by buying their goods direct from the Chinese co-operative companies, of which there are now over a hundred in the city. It is a pitiable state of affairs, and none of the manufacturers have any clear view as to the way out of the difficulty. They seem to think that if the manufacturers would band together and negotiate with the leather-dealers, so as to prevent them from selling stock to Chinamen, and then discharge all of them from the shops, something could be done. Verily, in this case, the "biter is bitten." And what is true in regard to the manufacture of boots and shoes is likewise true with reference to clothing, and especially coarse clothing, in the manufacture of which Chinamen are engaging very extensively.

This is a simple detail of part of the rooting out of American industries by Chinese immigration. Is it not obvious that if this thing goes on unchecked Americans will by and by be compelled to seek some other land to gain a subsistence. In San Francisco white workmen walk about the streets unable to get work because Chinamen have taken their places for a third of the pay which will support a white family. The retribution soon comes when the imitative Chinamen use the knowledge so gained to drive the employer out of the trade and leave him bankrupt. The whole advantage gained by any one accrues to the Chinese slave-master who utilizes his cooly labor.

NOT VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION.

Third. The emigration of Chinese is not like that of Europeans who seek our shores voluntarily to become citizens. All the evidence tends to prove that the mass of the Chinese who come here are coolies, bound for service for terms of years at exorbitant rates. They are *quasi* slaves. Although their contracts for service are void by our laws they are valid by the superstitions of the coolies, and the horrible Chinese hell impends with darkening fate over the forlorn wretch who dares be unfaithful. Again, the cooly has left in pledge his most loved ones in China, and they will be sold to perpetual bondage if he breaks his engagement. If Senators will turn to the correspondence of Mr. Bailey, consul at Hong-Kong, with the State Department, under date of April 25, 1871, they will find a conscientious, careful statement concerning this Chinese emigration, by an intelligent observer, from which I have extracted what I will read to the Senate:

> The subject of Chinese emigration from this port to the United States has claimed my careful thought and patient investigation for the last four months, with a view to get at the facts and to understand it in its surroundings and bearings. The whole subject is an anomaly. Rules that will do elsewhere in the world, when applied in considering questions of immigration, have no application to Chinese immigration to the United States. Immigrants to America from other parts of the world go of their own volition, free and voluntary. Emigration from China to all parts of the world is an organized business or trade, in which men of large capital and hongs of great wealth engage as a regular traffic, by which men are bought and sold for so much per

head, precisely as a piece of merchandise is handled at its market value. The poor laborer of Europe applies his own scanty means to get to the land of promise, or is assisted by his friends, charitable societies, or benevolent institutions to reach a place where he hopes to have his toil properly requited, where his labor will inure to his own benefit. The cooly of China is bought by the rich trader to serve his purchaser at low wages for a series of years in a foreign country, under contract for the faithful performance of which in many instances he gives a mortgage on his wife and children, with a stipulation that at the end of his term of service he is to be brought back to China by his purchaser. This contract is sold by the dealer through his agents in the United States and elsewhere at a large advance, and is a source of great profit to the capitalists who have the means to buy and sell large numbers of men. This contract in the United States is no doubt null and void, but nevertheless the cooly will comply strictly with all its terms, a copy of which in Chinese characters is always in his possession, and this he will do because his purchaser holds his household *lares* in the land to which he always hopes and expects to return in pledge for the faithful performance of his bonds. The central idea of a Chinaman's religion, if he has any religion at all, is that of the worship of the tombs of his ancestors. The superstitions of Fuug-Shusy dominate him wherever he may be in the world. The subtle mysticisms of China, so strangely governing all its people in their social, political, and quasi religious life, are as a hook in his nose, by which his purchaser controls him at all times and in all places; and thus this relation of master and quasi slave, no matter how many miles apart, is welded by the mystical links of religious superstitions, family ties, and rights of ancestral tombs, which control and regulate the reciprocal duties of trader and cooly in the home-land.

The means of obtaining coolies are as various as the ingenuity of man can devise, and are as corrupt as the incentive to large gains can stimulate and invent. Men and boys are decoyed by all sorts of tricks, opiates, and illusory promises into the haunts of the traders. Once in the clutches of these men-dealers, by a system of treachery and terrorism connived at by the local Chinese authorities, whose chief business in life is to "squeeze" the people, the stupefied cooly is overawed into making a contract under such Chinese influences and surroundings as to give it a sacredness of character nowhere else known in the world. From that moment he is the mere tool of the rich dealer wherever he may go. It is difficult for persons accustomed to Western civilization to understand the depth and extent of this relationship; but Chinese civilization is unique, perhaps opaque, and cannot be measured by that of any other.

HORRORS OF COOLY TRAFFIC.

A correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, writing from Canton, China, (published June 7, 1870,) thus describes the modes by which this emigration to the United States is promoted:

> The cooly (all laborers are called coolies) goes to the rulers or elders of his town or village and, with the consent of those interested, gives security on the persons of his family for such a sum as will secure his passage to the United States. The elders go to the mandarin and give him their united bond for the amount. The madarin in turn gives his note to the ticket-brokers, who furnish the cooly with his ticket. The bond, by which all the persons are bound, given to secure the cooly's note held by the brokers, stipulates that in case the cooly fails to pay the sum charged for his ticket, including the fees of brokers, madarin, and elders, within the specified time, then the indorsers will pay the same without question. The sum charged to the cooly for the ticket, which costs the brokers but $40, is often as high as three or four hundred dollars. In five instances out of ten he will fail to meet his obligation. If he fails to pay, the brokers here demand payment of the mandarin at once. The mandarin pays the note, charging a heavy fee for so doing. The elders pay the mandarin, charge another fee, and demand the amount from the cooly's family. They being unable to pay, are sold off one after another, beginning with the youngest girl, until enough is realized to cancel the debt. In this way whole families are often reduced to slavery to pay for a forty-dollar ticket.
>
> Two families were sold here in Canton last week to satisfy such a debt. One of the notes was for $350. Two unmarried girls, each thirteen years old, were purchased by an Italian profligate at $75 apiece. One boy was sold for $5'. Six persons in all were sold before the requisite amount was raised. Girls, however, often bring higher prices, and sometimes the sale of a handsome daughter will be sufficient. It is not unfrequent for different members of a family to urge that they may be sold instead of some loved one that is offered. The heads of families sell themselves into servitude to save their families. Chinese, besides the sacred family ties common to all mankind, have a strong religious desire that their children should be free to pay devotion to their memories after they are dead. When they sell a child they believe that it is sold body and soul, and that it can never again be a relative of theirs, either in this world or the next; and unless they leave children to pay them certain kinds of devotion after death their souls will "wander forever, naked, cold, and hungry, through an eternal waste of darkness and terror." It has sometimes happened that after sale of a family the cooly returning finds a portion of the claim still unsatisfied, and he himself is sold for it.

In Mr. Bailey's dispatch, No. 63, to the State Department, under date of September 12, 1871, he says:

> SIR: Referring to my dispatches Nos. 33 and 35, I have the honor to inclose an official communication from the colonial secretary of this colony, with accompanying documents, concerning the shipment of coolies hence to the United States by Mr. George E. Payne. A large proportion of the coolies referred to in the registrar-general's letter had undoubtedly been inveigled and some kidnapped by the cooly-broker Lai-on, who is, as I learn, a notorious Macao dealer in human flesh. Fortunately the coolies all escaped from the vessel, (the Pacific Mail steamer China,) and are now at liberty.
>
> As I have frequently stated before, I repeat now that the entire traffic is top-full of fraud, corruption, and the most brutal inhumanity.

Need I cite more proof that this Chinese immigration is peopling America with slaves not freemen; that our tolerance of it is encouraging the darkest crimes against humanity, rather than opening our portals to the distressed of the earth? It is no more a voluntary and healthful immigration than that of the African slave trade; and the barbarities of the latter are exceeded by those of the Chinese emigrant-ship. Chief Justice Smale, of Hong-Kong, in May, 1871, in a decision in the case of Kwok-a-Sing, whose rendition was claimed by the Chinese government on the ground that he was guilty of murder for assisting in the massacre of the captain and crew of the Penelope Nouvelle, a cooly-ship, refused the rendition on the ground that the defendant was a slave, and had a natural right to regain his liberty even by taking the lives of those who held him in custody. The decision gives a vivid and harrowing picture of the cooly traffic.

The learned judge states that he had endeavored to make a list of cooly-ships burned or sunk with all on board, and he finds that in a very short time some seven ships, with about three thousand coolies, had been thus destroyed. Mr. Bailey says in his dispatch relating to the burning of the cooly-ship Dolores Ugarte on the 6th of May, 1871:

> Truly Providence seems to have set this ship apart to shock the nations with a new horror that shall startle them to their duty in suppressing this infamous slave-trade. On Saturday, the 6th, the ship was discovered to be on fire in the hold where the coolies were kept. The captain states that, "with a view to save his own and his crew's lives, he battened down the hatches on the passengers and took to the boats." The ship was burned to the water's edge, and with it over six hundred victims of this atrocious traffic in men.

I will remark here, in passing, that the evidence in the case further shows that this frequent burning of ships is the act of the coolies themselves, a supreme act of despair, to destroy themselves and their custodians rather than to be kept in their bondage. Instances are frequent of Chinamen jumping overboard and drowning themselves at sea to escape this slavery; of their endeavoring to free themselves by mutiny and massacre; of setting fire to the ships, that all may perish, to avoid the fate of slavery. The testimony of the officer that they fired volleys over the heads of the Chinese on board the ship Crocus, that has just arrived at San Francisco, to "show them we were armed," speaks volumes and shows this immigration is just what it was in 1871, when Mr. Bailey described it. Why fire volleys over the heads of willing immigrants? It would not be done. They were despairing slaves, watching to free themselves from an intolerable yoke. All the horrors of the middle passage attend the traffic. The results of this traffic are what the people of the Pacific deprecate and deplore. We ask for relief from a condition of things degrading to our free labor while peopling the nation with slaves. Statesmen must see these things, must heed them, or the people will remove them and send men here who will.

TRAFFIC IN FEMALES FOR PROSTITUTION.

I ask your attention to the peculiarities of the traffic in Chinese females. The women are bought, young girls, of their parents or owners in China and sent thence to San Francisco, under contracts for continuous prostitution, made nominally with themselves. Really they are the passive victims. These girls are not prostitutes when purchased for these purposes, and in most instances are virgins when they are shipped or landed at the end of their voyage. The merchandise is intended to be delivered to the purchasers in good condition; but once delivered over to their task-masters they are subjected to all the hopeless miseries of the meanest prostitution.

I have here a translation of a contract for prostitution, given in evidence before a legislative commission now sitting in San Francisco. It reads as follows:

> An agreement to assist the woman Ah Ho, because coming from China to San Francisco she became indebted to her mistress for passage. Ah Ho herself asks Mr. Yee Kwan to advance for her $630, for which Ah Ho distinctly agrees to give her body to Mr. Yee for service as a prostitute for a term of four years. There shall be no interest on the money. Ah Ho shall receive no wages. At the expiration of four years Ah Ho shall be her own master. Mr. Yee Kwan shall not hinder or trouble her. If Ah Ho runs away before her time is out her mistress shall find her and return her, and whatever expense is incurred in finding and returning her Ah Ho shall pay. On this day of agreement Ah Ho, with her own hands, has received from Mr. Yee Kwan $630. If Ah Ho shall be sick at any time for more than ten days she shall make up by an extra month of service for every ten days' sickness. Now, this agreement has proof—this paper received by Ah Ho is witness. TUNG CHEE.
>
> Twelfth year, ninth month, and fourteenth day, (about middle October, 1873.)

The Chinese women when landed by the hundred from the ships are put in barracoons, as in the old slave times, and there kept until distributed to their masters. After distribution they are kept at their degrading work by fear, ignorance, and superstition. They believe the contracts good and binding, and fear the consequences of an attempt at escape. An ordinance was passed by the city of San Francisco making it unlawful to reduce persons to servitude, and the form of contract was at once changed to this:

> An agreement to assist a young girl named Loi Yau. Because she became indebted to her mistress for passage, food, &c., and has nothing to pay, she makes her body over to the woman, Sep Sam, to serve as a prostitute to make out the sum of $503. The money shall draw no interest, and Loi Yau shall serve four and one-half years. On this day of agreement Loi Yau receives the sum of $503 in her own hands. When the time is out Loi Yau may be her own master, and no man shall trouble her. If she runs away before the time is out, and any expense is incurred in catching her, then Loi Yau must pay the expense. If she is sick fifteen days or more she shall make up one month for every fifteen days. If Sep Sam shall go back to China, then Loi Yau shall serve another party till her time is out. If in such service she should be sick one hundred days or more, and cannot be cured, she may return to Sep Sam's place. For a proof of this agreement, this paper. LOI YAU.
>
> Dated 2d, sixth month of the present year.

The police testified before the commission referred to that it is notorious to them that women are bought and sold. They obtained several convictions under the ordinance named; but effective prosecution is prevented in most cases by the ignorance or fear of the victim and the mendacity of the witnesses. When a Chinese woman escapes from her servitude she is brought back by persuasion or force. Sometimes process of the courts is used to effect a return of the woman. These are arrested on charges of petty larceny, &c., and worried into returning to their masters. Kidnapping is frequently resorted to by the owners in case of escape or marriage. Rev. Mr. Gibson testified before the commission:

> The women are slaves. They are bought or stolen and brought here as slaves. They contract ostensibly to repay alleged borrowed money to prostitute their bodies for four or five years, the proceeds to go to the master. At the end of that time no change occurs, but

> women are retained for another period for more debt, but in reality being owned by certain men. Where a woman is sold and found to be pregnant within a month, or has leprosy, or epilepsy, she is returned, and the purchase-money is refunded.

It is with difficulty that I read this testimony. I cannot read it all, and I have endeavored to select that which was most fit for the ear of the Senate and yet give some idea of the horrors of this Chinese traffic. Rev. Mr. Gibson goes on to testify further:

> This business is under the general management of certain companies, and their contracts are deemed good. Among that class of Chinese there are no morals at all. The women are in a slavery harder and more miserable than existed among the white races. As long as they are fit to earn any money they are kept; but as soon as they give out they are turned out to die. The company collects a tax of $40 for every prostitute imported, and afterward collects two bits a week.

Charles Wolcott Brooks, well known to many Senators for his connection with the Japanese mission, testified that the Chinese in this country are governed by six companies, each with its code of laws antagonistic to and superior in the estimation of Chinese to State laws; that the influx of Chinese is only limited by the amount of our marine transportation; that the lowest classes of Chinese come, the "scum of China, and that the women are more dangerous than the men, being afflicted with syphilitic diseases, which they communicate to the boys of the land."

CORRUPTORS OF YOUTH.

Dr. N. H. Toland, an eminent physician of San Francisco, was called and testified before the commission as follows:

> I have known boys eight or ten years old to contract a loathsome disease in the Chinese quarter. These cases are not uncommon. In consequence of neglect these cases are the worst that we have to deal with. I am satisfied that the disease is hereditary and is transmitted The effect of Chinese remaining in this country will fill our hospitals with invalids. The presence of Chinamen here does not tend to the advancement of Christian civilization; in fact it has a contrary effect. The maintenance of the population in our midst is a crime against civilization. I treat a half dozen boys every day.

David C. Woods was sworn and testified:

> I have resided in California twenty-five years; am at the present time superintendent of the Industrial School, and have been for two years and three months. I think the presence of a large number of Chinese in our midst has a very bad effect upon our boys. A great portion of the boys who come to the Industrial School come there suffering with venereal diseases, fifty at least having come there so suffering since my term began. They range from thirteen years upward, and we have from two to four sick all the time. About two hundred and fifty or three hundred boys have been sent to the institution during the last two years, and a large portion of those old enough to cohabit with women are diseased. In answer to my inquiries they have informed me that they caught the infection in Chinatown. Many come with the disease fastened upon them, others with it fresh, and with the former a cure is difficult, sometimes impossible. Our physicians treat them and I treat them with varying success.

The boys referred to are white boys, and it shows what horrors exist when solicitation and temptation and ruin reach youths of such tender age. Is it any wonder that parents are angry and indulge in threats of violence and disorder? These are the ebullitions of despair at an incurable evil unless the Government will hear and protect us.

Wang Ben, the Chinese interpreter of courts, testified:

> The gambling houses and prostitutes are controlled by four rulers—Wong Fook Loi, Bi Chee, Ah Go or Jo, and Wang Woon; these men composed a company; they bought women in China for $90 and sold them here for $800; they were mostly "big feet" women from Tartary, and were shamefully treated, even worse than the dogs are by Americans.

This is the testimony of a respectable Chinese interpreter of our courts. He says further:

> Any person who dares to interfere with the owners of the women, or with the gamblers, is threatened with assassination. A sign was posted on the corner of Dupont and Jackson streets yesterday which set forth that $1,500 would be paid for the assassination of the witness Wang Ben—

The person who was testifying.

> He saw this sign and immediately started for the police headquarters to inform the authorities; on his way he was beset by about forty Chinamen; he jumped into the middle of the street, pulled out a shooter, and bade them "come on;" they did not come at that particular time, but they may hereafter; when Ben returned with an officer the notice was gone. Proclamations were frequent in Chinatown, offering rewards for the killing of certain Chinamen; but since the present excitement commenced they are scarce, as the six companies have combined and decided to expose any persons offering the rewards.

If these pictures are painful, horrible, what must the reality be? Can it be said that these people stand on the footing of immigrants, and it is our duty to afford to them asylums? They make lazar-houses of our cities; they bring pollution and spread corruption. Their highest motive is the gain to be acquired by temporary residence.

EASTERN IGNORANCE ON THE SUBJECT.

A striking illustration of the ignorance of some who undertake to teach the Eastern people on this subject is found in a superficial article in the New York *Times* of the 25th instant, which declares:

> The Chinese are neither criminals nor paupers. There is not an almshouse or a prison in the whole length and breadth of the Republic that shows a marked infusion of the Chinese element.

It is not surprising that there should be no Chinese in such institutions in States where the Chinese are yet unknown; but the assertion is ridiculously false of the Pacific States. By the State-prison returns of California for 1873, the last accessible to me, I find that out of 931 convicts 150, or nearly 17 per cent. are Chinese. Supervisor Gibbs recently testified before the legislative commission that there are 38 Chinese in the county pest-house, 8 of whom have leprosy and all loathsome diseases. The amount of pauperism may be judged from the fact that the assessed property of San Francisco is $300,000,000. The Chinese have at least one-sixth of the population of the city, and are assessed for only $600,000, and most of that to a comparatively few wealthy men among them. Pauperism is the normal condition of the cooly and prostitute who sell their services and bodies to hard masters to get to this country.

The *Times*, in the article referred to, underrates the number of arrivals of Chinese, and intimates that during the years when the Central Pacific railroad was being built the number was much greater, and argues that there was no excitement then. There was less at that time because the Chinese were hurried through California and distributed along the railroad in Nevada. But the number now coming forward exceeds all former experience; and they settle in the towns and cities and excite more apprehension from that fact. An article in a San Francisco paper of the 19th of April, 1876, says:

> The Pacific mail steamship Great Republic arrived in this port from China yesterday morning after a smooth passage of twenty-four days. She had on board one thousand and seventy-five Chinese, having lost one through suicide The Great Republic reports the Belgic to follow with about six hundred Chinese. She also reports leaving the Quang Se ready for a shipment of coolies. The officers of the Great Republic say that all steamers from China for the next four months will be crowded with coolies.

The trade is very profitable to the ships, and the supply of coolies is ample where 400,000,000 population can be drawn upon. The danger cannot be averted by belittling it.

The tone of some of the Eastern papers is that of the pious old man who prayed—

> O, Lord, bless me and my wife,
> My son John and his wife;
> We four and no more.

[Laughter.]

Their withers are unwrung.

BETTER JUDGMENT IN THE EAST.

But this is far from universal. The New York *Herald*, the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, the *Nation*, and other influential journals evince a clearer perception of the difficulty and a fraternal feeling for the Western coast. The *Nation*, in a leading article on the "California disturbance," treats the subject with breadth and candor. It says:

> In our indignation at what seems to us the absurd prejudice of the Californians against the Chinese we are apt to overlook one important thing: the great depth of our own ignorance on the subject. California is the only American community, and in fact the only Western community from the beginning of history which has had any experience of the actual effect of a Chinese immigration. The immigration from which we in the Eastern States are obliged to draw all our inferences as to the probable effect of such an experiment has been from countries which are allied to our own by race. language, religion, or customs; and the few Chinese whose acquaintance we have made have been chiefly objects of curiosity to us. To California they have come in numbers, and, speaking a different language, worshipping unknown gods, keeping alive imported customs and traditions, they form almost a separate caste. Now, such a state of affairs is, under our system of government, very difficult to deal with. In mediæval times it would have been simple enough, because laws and customs would have arisen based on the inferiority of one race and the superiority of the other.

We are grateful for kindly appreciation of our troubles, and a knowledge of them is rapidly growing in the East.

CHINESE, WHERE NUMEROUS, DANGEROUS TO PEACE.

Fourth. The Chinese, where numerous, so as to give each other countenance, are dangerous infractors of the peace and violators of law. The are divided into clans, and fight savagely among themselves on some unknown cause of hatred. I have seen a hundred or two Chinese lining each side of a narrow street violently gesticulating at each other, and apparently casting insults, as if each party sought to provoke the other to the first blow, when like a flash came the clashing of swords and knives, and half a dozen men were in the dust with mortal stabs. These feuds among the Chinese are frequent and notorious. My California and Nevada newspapers speak of deadly affairs of the kind that have just happened at San José and Virginia City. But this is only one manifestation of their national, characteristic cruelty. The killing of female infants in China has been carried so far that women are scarce. It is a custom, a fashion. I wish Senators would turn to the authorities in these matters, or read Barrows' account of 9,000 infants in a single year being exposed alive in Canton and in Pekin mutilated by hogs, and the Catholic missionaries would go around in the morning and pick up as many of them as they could who had not perished from cold, or starvation, or by these animals, and rescue them; and gave as a reason, in their French phrases, "*pour sauver les âmes*"—to save their souls; and he says there were 30,000 destroyed annually in the Empire; that female infanticide is common and a fashion throughout the Empire. I think Senators ought to go back to these original sources and authorities, and find out what kind of people they are whom we invite to our land. In California they turn out the sick and the helpless to die. So far as I have been able to learn by inquiry there is no hospital or benevolent society maintained by Chinese in San Francisco. What other people, numbering 30,000 in one city, would have no organized means for relief of their own race? Only they could be so hard, indifferent, and cruel. They are capable of great atrocities against foreigners in their own land, as witness the massacre of the foreign residents at Tien-Tsin, June 21, 1870. The French consul and the foreign merchants, their wives, daughters, and children; the Catholic priests, and the Sisters of Mercy, and about one hundred little orphan children were cruelly murdered under circumstances of revolting barbarity.

These children were collected by the means which I incidentally described a moment ago. Having set fire to the building occupied by the sisters, they entered the gates and dragged them into the streets. There they stripped them naked, exposed them to the public gaze, plucked out their eyes, cut off their breasts, ripped them open, tore out their hearts, and deliberately cut them in pieces and divided portions of their flesh among the infuriated mob. An account of this horrible affair says:

> Chinese spectators of the bloody scene relate other horrors perpetrated on those innocent ladies that cannot be mentioned. The lady superioress, it is said, was cut in twain while yet alive. God alone and the sisters know all they endured of mortal agony and bodily sufferings. Their modesty outraged, their purity defiled, their poor frail frames torn asunder, their blood scattered, and their lives destroyed by savages whose murderous rage inflicted all these and other outrages amid a scene of horror that alone would be too terrible to encounter.

A most eligible race this for American citizenship!

CRUEL SPIRIT OF CHINESE LAWS.

But if something must be conceded in this instance to the passion of a mob, I ask you to refer to the spirit of the laws in China, where justice itself shows an utter indifference to human life and unnecessary infliction of suffering. So all writers on the matter agree; and the punishments they name are ingeniously cruel and unusual. I may be excused for referring to the source of Chinese emigration to study its character. The subject is too important to neglect any test; and the degree of enlightenment of a people, its amount of uncorrupted humanity, may best be found by an insight into its courts and prisons. Wermuth says:

> It is not enough in China to suffer a cruel death for a crime. No; the sufferings going before death are so much worse than decapitation that the final delivery into the hands of even an unmerciful god could not cause more despair. Days and days before the execution prisoners are reduced by most infamous tortures and by hunger to such a wretched state that the knife severing the head is waited for with anxiety.

L'Abbé Huc details the tortures of a prisoner that passed under his eyes, before a miscellaneous and amused audience, the details of which almost surpass belief.

Berncastle tells of women being cut into forty pieces, and of men executed by being flogged to death in public with bamboos. He says in a note that persons condemned to death can procure a substitute who can be found on payment of a sum of money.

Barrow, after detailing his observations of modes of Chinese punishment, says:

> In a government where every man is liable to be made a slave, where every man is subject to be flogged with the bamboo at the nod of one of the lowest rank of those in office, and where he is compelled to kiss the rod that beats him, or, which amounts to the same thing, to thank the tyrant on his knees for the trouble he has taken to correct his morals, high notions of honor or dignified sentiments are not to be expected. Where the maxims of the government commanding, and the sentiments of the people agreeing, that corporal punishment may be inflicted on the ground of a favor conferred upon the person punished, a principle of humiliation is admitted that is well calculated to exclude and obliterate every notion of the dignity of human nature.

I have not time to more than glance at these facts and considerations. What wonder that the Chinese when they reach our shores are such as I have described them? Beyond any other class they fill our prisons and jails; and yet conviction is difficult from the abundance and readiness of Chinese witnesses for the defendant. No form of Christian oath binds the Chinese conscience. If any oath has that effect, it is accompanied by cutting off the head of a chicken in court—a dirty expedient that American courts do not like to resort to. The clerk of the chief of police of San Francisco recently testified before the commission to which I have referred that 10 per cent. of the Chinese in that city live by gambling, prostitution, and thieving, and that nearly every one is a breaker of the ordinances of the city or laws of the State. Of course many of the offenses are *malum prohibitum*, as too dense crowding of lodging-houses. Mr. Gibson testified that four or five Chinamen sleep in a space of six by ten feet. The danger of pestilence has caused ordinances to be enacted regulating the minimum of space to an individual; but they cannot be enforced. The four or five Chinamen referred to are arrested and convicted, and imprisoned in a jail where they find, to them, luxurious quarters and fare exceeding any former experience. The punishment becomes a bounty for petty crime, and the law is baffled.

CHINESE CRIMINALITY—THEIR PERJURY

David Supple, a San Francisco policeman, testifies as follows:

> I have resided in California twenty-seven years; all the time in this city. For seven years I have been on the police force and have had some little experience with Chinese. That part of the city is in a beastly, filthy condition, the people living like hogs. More than half of the Chinese population here are of the criminal class—that is, break the laws and ordinances of the city and State. There was a case in the police court a few days ago where a Chinaman was arrested for committing rape upon a child eighteen months old. The Chinese women are slaves held in bondage. When they become sick and unable to work they are put out on the street to die. I have had charge of the dead myself. Where Chinese women escape from houses of prostitution they are returned in various ways, principally by force. I know a case where a Chinaman married one of the women some time since. He lately called on me to tell me that she had been taken away by her former owners. I would not believe Chinese under oath, and that is the way they are regarded by most of the citizens of the State. The effect of the presence of that nation here is most terrible upon the morals and the health of the youth of the country. Boys of twelve and fourteen years of age go about our streets filled with disease, fairly crippled from their intercourse with Chinese prostitutes. They are stunted in mind and body, and are becoming worse day by day. * * * The Chinamen are displacing the white boys and girls employed in lighter trades, and the result is an abundance of hoodlums and the fitting of subjects for the State prison and the bawdy-house.

The term "hoodlum" has a terrible meaning with us in San Francisco. It means the wildest kind of boys, made such by absence of employment, as testified to by this policeman. We do not know what to do with them. We do not know what to do with our own boys, and cannot control them. They get vicious from the mere fact that they have no employment.

All the testimony taken before this commission goes to reveal the same painful facts. D. J. Murphy, district attorney, testified to his experience. He has been district attorney for four years. A large proportion of his docket was Chinese cases. The charges were principally grand larceny, burglary, and murder.

He says:

> I have found rank perjury on all sides; sometimes witnesses will swear to one thing before the grand jury and directly opposite on the trial; felonies are compromised and compounded in many instances; where Chinese desire they can swear any one into the State prison or acquit him. I have had occasion to appeal to executive clemency on behalf of Chinamen unjustly sent to State prison. The Chinese are not to be believed under oath unless corroborated by extrinsic circumstances or white testimony. Seven-tenths or eight-tenths of the Chinese are law breakers, a vast majority living upon the fruits of crime.

He testified that the evils of Chinese immigration are "frightful in magnitude and constantly increasing."

Some of the most significant testimony was given by Captain R. H. Joy, commander of the English steamship Crocus, which had just landed an immense cargo of Chinese, which he admitted were the worst class of Chinamen. He is an Englishman, and answered questions as follows:

> Question. What would you think, as an Englishman, if the Chinese of the class that you bring here were to overflow your country?
>
> Answer. It would behoove Englishmen to drive them out.
>
> Q. Why?
>
> A. Because they work for low wages and they are not the class of people we would like to have in our own country. They work for less because they live on less, a handful of rice daily and little else being sufficient to keep them. Their morals are far below those of the working classes of other nations, and the introduction of 30,000 or 40,000 into an English city would have the result of lowering the average of labor and morals, too, but I do not think such a thing would be allowed, and I hope never to see it.

The first officer of the Crocus, also an Englishman, had the same opinions. He said:

> I have been in China many times, the last time remaining there ten months. During the voyage of the Crocus to this port we had a little trouble with the Chinese at the first, but they soon became all right We fired volleys over their heads a few times to show them we were armed, as a means of preventing mutiny. We never put into any port for more men, having enough at the beginning of the voyage. I am a native of Liverpool. If the Chinese should want to go to England they "would not find room to stay." There are enough whites there now, without having any Chinamen to run them out. The Chinese living around sea-ports are a bad lot, will steal anything they can get hold of, and are very immoral.

OUR ONLY HOPE IS IN THE GOVERNMENT.

I could multiply proofs upon this point, but is it necessary? Senators must see the dangerous and disgusting nature of this encroaching element. The country must awake to the danger before it is too late. I have not waited to this hour to warn Congress and the country of these evils. On the 25th of June, 1862, nearly fourteen years ago, I called to the attention of the House of Representatives the fact that "A people of strange tongue, vile habits, impossible of assimilation, and with customs difficult to penetrate, swarm by thousands to our shores, like the frogs of Egypt." I described the system of slavery and other abominations, and asked for the relief which the giant growth of the evil has now made unendurable to us and a near calamity to the whole nation. At the last Congress I laid before the Senate a monster petition from the people of California, asking for protection from the General Government, and I urged the demand upon the attention of the Senate. Since that time the Supreme Court of the United States has swept away the feeble barriers which the State sought to erect by its own legislation against the advancing tide, and has cast the entire responsibility and duty of providing curative measures on the National Government. We have obeyed the injunctions of Hercules to help ourselves, and have failed. Our measures may not have been wise, but they were the best we could devise; and now we learn that the United States Constitution deprives us of all power. We cannot and will not resort to violence. The moral sense of our communities revolts against that, though the ignorant classes are stirred to it and the vile would gladly commit it. But the governing sense of San Francisco has counseled and compelled patience and punished infractions of the law designed to protect alike the alien and citizen. We are at the end of our resources. Tell me, Senators, what can we do? What will you do for us? Our Government has protested against the emptying of prisons and pauper-houses of Europe upon our shores. But here is worse. Here is not a pauper merely, but a slave. He is not merely a slave to exacting masters, but to superstitions and vices and traditional corruptions. Out of such materials American citizens cannot be made, should not be made, unless the form of American civilization is to be changed more radically than it could be by changes of laws and constitutions. To allow this inordinate immigration of corrupt humanity is to import leprosy into the body-politic. Is it said we should civilize this population? They despise our civilization, and are confidently assured that theirs is the better way. They despise even the comforts and necessities of our lives. But the attempt would be vain because they do not come here for homes, and seldom remain longer than a few years, giving way to fresh and larger hordes. To civilize them is to roll the stone of Sysiphus. Mr. Gibson has preached to them for ten years past in San Francisco; mission schools have been established among them; yet, out of the 30,000 in the city, he testifies that not over one hundred profess Christianity, and the testimony before the commission was to the effect that many of these converts used the profession as a cloak to cover woman-kidnapping and other crimes. As the committee of the monster-meeting at San Francisco said, they are an indigestible element in our midst.

FREE LABOR THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATION.

For twenty-five years the Chinaman has been among us. During that time he has taken no single step toward assimilation with us. He is the same in dress, mode of life, and general exclusiveness as when he came. He looks forward to no share in our civilization. His sole purpose is to make a few hundred dollars and return to his native land. He has made arrangements whereby if he dies in our country his remains are to be removed to China. He is not of us living or dead, and does not wish to be. He seeks his own temporary end at our expense, and imperils our civilization in gaining it.

The basis of our civilization is labor fairly rewarded. By this I mean that the great body of our people are compelled to toil with their hands, and rates of wages prevail under which they can rear families. The day laborer as well as the skilled artisan can generally send his children to the common school a few years, and the elements of education there received cultivates self-respect in parents and children. These schools are the nurseries in which citizens are grown. The immigrants from European countries generally avail themselves of their privileges. The native-born children of our adopted citizens are genuine Americans. Shall we encourage the immigration, nay, the importation, of Chinese who rear no families, have not half the wants of others, and can therefore work for half the prevailing wages? Every Chinaman who comes displaces one of our own laborers. Is it a good exchange? If the sole object of civilization were to enable the wealthy to accumulate more wealth, regardless of the comfort and cultivation of the common people, I should still doubt that wealth itself could afford to destroy the character of the nation in its greed for increase. If capital could avail itself of Chinese labor exclusively at half price, the impoverishment and final extinction of the great middle class of our country would leave a nation of lords and serfs, in which property itself would be a sort of adversity.

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.

The nation can only prosper through the general comfort and welfare and gradual improvement and elevation of all. Worth and not wealth is a nation's safety. The stimulation of production by means which eliminate a great body of consumers cannot be a wise political economy. Four or five Chinamen living in a room six by ten feet, eating rice and smoking opium, may be able to make shoes or clothes at half price, but they will not wear them, and the laborers they displace cannot afford them. The Chinese Empire can spare from its teeming population more millions than now inhabit this country, and hardly notice their absence. It will not be a sufficient reply to say that this will not occur for a century. It is our duty to determine whether this is desirable at the end of a century. If not, then we must act for those who are to come after us in a way to avert the calamity. From this we must not be deterred by any feeling of just anger against the baser sort of people who persecute and outrage the Chinese. Let the strong arm of the Government be stretched out to compel respect for the rights of all persons within its jurisdiction, but let us meanwhile aim at a true solution of two questions: Are the Chinese an undesirable and unhealthy addition to our population? If so, how shall their future coming be checked consistently with the dignity and good faith of the nation? These questions should be considered and settled now. Every year of postponement creates new difficulties.

CHINA WILL RESPECT OUR DEMAND.

One word more and I have done. A modification of our treaty with China in the respects I have indicated will not be distasteful to China. The established policy of its government is to prevent the immigration of its people. I have no doubt it will accede to our request and reform the treaty to effect the object desired. But if it does not, our duty is not less clear. The treaty reprobates any other than a voluntary emigration. I have shown that this emigration is in no sense voluntary. We have a right to demand of China a treaty that can be enforced. The sixth article of the treaty gives to Americans nominally the same rights in China as Chinese have in this country. To be sure, there are words of limitation in the favored-nation clause, and no foreigners in China are allowed the privileges that Chinese take here. An American cannot travel in the interior of China without a strong guard, and could not open a shop in any village outside certain boundaries without certainty of pillage and murder. The disabilities of the treaty are all on our side; and it is only by fear of punishment that the Chinese are made to pay any respect to the rights of foreigners in China.

I ask you, Senators, to listen to our appeal; to treat this matter as statesmen, as becomes your station and characters, and to at least add your voice to that of the House of Representatives in asking the attention of the Executive to this sorrowful scourge.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, in reference to this resolution of the Senator from California I shall say but a word. I understand that a recent decision of the Supreme Court has annulled the laws which California had enacted in reference to immigrants. I would suggest to the Senator having this subject so much at heart whether it would not be advisable that he should submit to the Senate or its Committee on the

Judiciary some law which the United States might adopt, which might be acceptable to all parts of the nation. I suppose that the decision of the Supreme Court, which I have not seen, was on the ground that that was a subject which belonged to the Federal rather than the State government; and, if I am correct in that supposition, it seems to me that that is one step which might well be taken toward bringing this subject to the attention of the councils of the nation.

I have read the resolution which has been submitted, and which is to authorize the President to take measures for the reformation of the treaty with China. I have been told—I do not know how correctly—that most of the immigrants that come in from China come from Hong-Kong, the immigration from which I suppose would be regulated rather by a treaty with England than with China. All Chinese who can reach that colony, when there, have no difficulty in being shipped to this country. It seems to me that if that is so it requires the further consideration of the Senator, or, at all events that the resolution had better be referred to some committee to be considered in that regard.

Mr. SARGENT. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. EDMUNDS. I should like to hear the resolution read, that we may see exactly what it is.

The Chief Clerk again read the resolution.

Mr. SARGENT. The difficulty in this matter is not in devising a form of words or framing language which when inserted into a treaty would obviate the objections which we make. That can be devised by the Secretary of State or by the President or by a Senate committee. The trouble is that these persons who come from Hong-Kong or wherever else they may start from in China, from any port that is open to our vessels, will come in great numbers unless we pass laws by the General Government which will reach this immigration. Several propositions have been made by which it could be reached. I noticed that Horatio Seymour not long ago suggested that if the United States would pass a law that not more than ten Chinese should be allowed to land from one vessel anywhere in the United States it would reach the difficulty. I do not know that that is best. I do not know but that it may be absolutely essential that there be an entire cessation of the immigration. This matter I had referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations in the last Congress. At the same time I had referred a petition which was signed by 25,000 of our people, wherein they set out in most moving language, certainly as eloquent as any I have been able to use to-day although without so much detail, these difficulties, and in the form of heads they succinctly stated all those troubles. I then asked the attention of the Senate and especially of the Committee on Foreign Relations to it. I fear that if this resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations the result would be, on account of the avocations of that committee, its great business, or on account of there being no member from the Pacific coast upon it who understands this subject to bore you with it and continually to call your attention to it, and where objections arise to answer those objections, that the subject will be overlooked again, and this session will go by and another year's horrors be added to those which already exist. Our people consider that, if the attention of the Executive can be called to this matter and negotiations be opened, our commissioners with China appointed by the Executive will have the wisdom to devise such measures as will be required. That is the only practical proposition there is.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I do not know that it is necessary that this resolution should be referred to a committee; but I do not understand that the Senator has answered the question which I put, whether the difficulty that arises from the immigration from Hong-Kong could be regulated under that resolution?

Mr. SARGENT. I think so, because suppose the treaty, instead of the fifth and sixth articles, should contain a provision that the United States reserved to itself the right to pass measures to restrict the immigration of Chinese to our shores, then it could pass a law which would control the number that should come in any one ship; limit it to one, two, or one hundred as we pleased. By the treaty we are now shut out from the right to legislate on this matter in a restrictive form, as I conceive. I do not think that such a law would stand the test of the Supreme Court, even if passed by Congress under the clause of the Constitution authorizing the regulation of commerce, because it would interfere with a treaty which is the supreme law of the land.

Mr. EDMUNDS. That has been settled the other way.

Mr. SARGENT. It certainly raises a question. I myself would be very glad to vote for a law which Senators so eminent as the Senator from Vermont and the Senator from New Jersey would say would stand the test of the Supreme Court, which would remedy these evils; but my own impression is that this treaty stands in the way. It certainly can do no harm to have negotiations opened with the government of China upon it; it will direct the attention of the government of China to the trouble under which we are laboring, and they may themselves voluntarily offer to assist in remedying it; but at any rate the trouble is so great, so terrible, as Senators who have not listened to the whole of my remarks will find if they will only read the testimony I have brought forward, that the impatience which is felt on Pacific coast and which I fear seems to influence myself for speedy action has a sound basis.

Exclusion of Chinese and Other Asiatics.

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. A. HAYES,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 25, 1909.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, having under consideration the Sundry Civil appropriation bill—

Mr. HAYES said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I move to strike out the last word. I desire briefly to call the attention of the House to the condition of the Chinese-exclusion service. Congress has certainly done its part in enforcing the Chinese-exclusion act. Ever since I have been a Member of Congress there has been an annual appropriation of $500,000 for this purpose. One would think that was enough to exclude every Chinaman that sought to come here or to deport those who by chance eluded the vigilance of the immigration officials and illegally got into this country. Yet I am bound to say that unless there is a change in the method of executing this law, the Chinese-exclusion law in the near future will come to be a dead letter. By the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the last year there has been an increase in Chinamen admitted into this country of over 38 per cent.

Those of us who know anything about this subject I think will agree that every one of these additional entries is fraudulent, and more than 90 per cent of all the Chinamen who are admitted through the immigration office are admitted fraudulently and are not entitled to be in this country at all. Even this would not be so alarming if it were not for the fact that wholesale smuggling is going on all along the Mexican and Canadian borders and in many places along the Pacific coast. There has lately been some effort to stop this smuggling and to punish the smugglers.

Mr. COX of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, how does the gentleman account for the fact that so many of these entries have been fraudulent? I think he makes the estimate of 90 per cent. What is it due to?

Mr. HAYES. It is due to the fact that the Chinaman has usually no regard at all for the sanctity of an oath, and it takes a most expert and persistent effort on the part of the officials to discover the frauds.

Mr. COX of Indiana. Has it been due in any way to lack of Congress appropriating sufficient money?

Mr. HAYES. It has not. I stated in the beginning that Congress has done its part; but there is just at this time, and has been for two or three years past, a great laxity and lack of spirit in the enforcement of this law.

Mr. COX of Indiana. The fault must lie with some one.

Mr. HAYES. It lies with those who are charged with the administration of the law, without any question. Now, the principal trouble, I take it, is not so much with those who are immediately charged with the admission of the Chinese, but it is due to the fact that the Department of Commerce and Labor has chosen not to arrest those who have gained admission to the country surreptitiously and fraudulently, especially if they get a little away from the border.

In his report for 1908 the Commissioner-General of Immigration admits that these surreptitious entries of Chinese are very large and on the increase. I read from his report for 1908, page 148:

> In the early months of the calendar year 1905 the bureau undertook the conduct of a quiet canvass with the object of securing a record of the Chinese in each district, and of the papers, if any, held by them as evidence of their right to reside in the United States. In some districts this canvass or census was complete, but in others it was only fairly begun when so strong a protest arose on all sides that instructions were issued for its discontinuance. It had been carried far enough, however, to indicate that there were then about as many Chinese in the United States whose entry had been unlawful and who held either no papers showing a right of residence or else had in their possession papers of a forged, fraudulent, or irregular character as there were of the lawfully resident class. Is it any cause for wonder, therefore, that the "companies," the "steerers," the "promoters," and the "smugglers" interested in the immigration and residence here of coolies should have registered an emphatic objection to the Government's pursuing a course calculated to expose the extensiveness of their operations? Simultaneously with the discontinuance of the census the general policy with regard to the making of arrests in the interior of the country was so changed as to contemplate arrests being made only in flagrant cases of unlawful residence coming to the attention of the Chinese inspectors incidentally during the conduct of investigations regarding domiciled Chinese, which policy has been practically continued to the present time. In other words, while the excluding provisions of the law have been vigorously enforced at the ports of entry, the provisions contemplating expulsion have not been emphasized elsewhere than along the Canadian and Mexican borders and in districts immediately connected therewith. Table 3 A (p. 154) shows that during the year 912 Chinese persons have been arrested and 477 finally deported. But the vast majority of these arrests, viz, 816, were made in districts immediately on or closely connected by lines of travel with the land boundaries. During the fiscal year 1907, 503 arrests were made, only 50 of which occurred in the interior. (Annual Report, 1907, p. 99.) What has been the result? Chinese have come to believe that once they reach the large cities of the interior they are practically safe, and that it is much easier and not very much more expensive to gain entry by some of the surreptitious routes than through a regular port; hence the conditions described in subtitle 4 hereof regarding the Canadian and Mexican borders. If the exclusion law is to remain on the statute books as now drawn, it is obvious that its reasonable enforcement demands a change in this policy. Money that was formerly spent in the defense of Chinese arrested in the interior can now be used to pay the expenses of smuggling coolies and conveying them to the interior, and as long as this can be done at a profit the smuggling will continue.

Remarkable words these to come from the department whose duty it is to enforce the law. Not only has there been of late great laxity and indifference on the part of the Department of Commerce and Labor in the deportation of Chinese unlawfully in this country, but the same spirit has pervaded the whole administration of the law. This, in effect, is serving notice on the Chinaman that if he can avoid the vigilance of the officials and get to some city in the country he will not be disturbed, and as a result this wholesale smuggling is not only continuing, but is vastly increasing from month to month and year to year, and must continue to increase unless the policy of the Department of Commerce and Labor is changed in this respect. A gentleman connected with the Chinese service, and well up in the service, too, told me not long ago, and I have no doubt that he is correct, that he believes that 500 Chinamen are here in the city of Washington in violation of the law, and yet he says:

> I am not allowed to make any move to discover these men, nor to arrest or deport them.

In 1906 President Roosevelt appointed a commission, composed of J. W. Jenks, R. M. Easley, and J. B. Reynolds, to consider the Chinese boycott and the smuggling of Chinese into the United States. That commission reported to Secretary Straus in 1908, and the concluding paragraphs of that report are as follows:

> Our commission, therefore, has reached the conclusion that the demoralization of the bureau in its Chinese service is widespread, and unless radically reformed serious complications, both political and commercial, are threatened. Our commission did not consider that its duty was to make definite, formal charges against particular officials, except as incidental results of investigation, but to present to you as full a statement as possible of the bureau's relation to the causes of the boycott, leaving it to you to determine what action should be taken.
>
> In no point does the demoralization of the bureau appear more striking than in its failure to prevent the smuggling of coolies. We found no evidence of systematic efficient effort to check such widespread violations of the law. The recommendations of Greenhalge to the Commissioner-General that the Government should attempt to catch the leading white smugglers, upon whom the smuggling system depends, seemed to your commission the most practicable method of securing substantial results. This suggestion appears to have been unheeded. From my present knowledge of the situation I am confident that with intelligent and energetic handling the extensive smuggling which exists to-day might be practically wiped out.
>
> It is therefore the earnest hope of your commission that the relations between the Chinese in this country and the American Government, through the Bureau of Immigration, may be essentially improved; that more determined effort and persistent effort may be made for the suppression of blackmail and the smuggling of Chinese coolies, and that a higher standard in the selection of immigration officials may be enforced.

These conditions were brought to the attention of the proper department long ago. In August and September, 1907, Professor Jenks, of the Immigration Commission, with Mr. Atkinson, secretary of that commission, visited the Canadian and Mexican borders, investigating and reporting conditions to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. On his return from that trip, he gave to Secretary Straus evidence of complicity on the part of a number of inspectors in the wholesale smuggling of Chinese on both borders; and I ought to say that I do not get this information from Professor Jenks. The only thing that seems to have been done about it was that the honest inspector who gave Jenks his information was shorn of his credentials and transferred, and the dishonest employee retained, just as Doctor Solomon was transferred from Ellis Island in the fall of 1906 for giving J. B. Reynolds information.

It is true that last fall, or early in the winter, Assistant Secretary William R. Wheeler, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, stirred up things down on the southern California border near San Diego, and as a result there were several removals of inspectors, and smuggling at that point was somewhat interfered with, but the evidence upon which the removals were made was not secured in the first instance by the department of Commerce and Labor, but by a detective employed for that purpose by the Immigration Commission. The conditions in the Chinese-exclusion service may in the last few months be somewhat improved, but not enough to reduce to any considerable extent the number of Chinese coming into this country.

And so far as excluding Japanese is concerned, there seems to be no attempt to execute the law. The immigration act of 1907 provides in substance that when in the opinion of the President of the United States alien laborers from our island possessions or from contiguous foreign territory are entering the United States to the disturbance of labor conditions therein, he may by proclamation forbid the entry into this country of such laborers. In accordance with this law the President of the United States immediately after its passage issued his proclamation forbidding the entry of such laborers from Hawaii, Mexico, or Canada. The effect of all this was, as it was intended to be, to make the entry of Japanese laborers from Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada illegal, and being here contrary to the law such Japanese are subject at any time to arrest and deportation. The issuance of the proclamation seems to be about all that has been done. It may be that when Japanese present themselves to the immigration officials these officials turn them back and forbid them to enter the United States, but there is apparently no attempt to exclude them other than this.

On the Mexican border the Rio Grande can, most of the year, be easily forded and can be crossed on rowboats at any time. Hundreds of Japanese have been crossing to the United States nearly every day, and there seems to be scarcely a pretense of preventing them and no arrests and deportation of those who thus surreptitiously and unlawfully enter the country. I do not know, Mr. Chairman, that we can do anything in this matter by talking about it, but it seems to me that something ought to be done either to enforce the law in its letter and spirit or else cease to make appropriations for a service that is rapidly coming to be a byword and a jest.

Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to further take up the time of the House. I wished only to call the attention of the House to the matter, and I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a letter which I have received from a business man, an American citizen residing just over the border in Mexico. He was formerly a newspaper proprietor in my section of California, and no one who knows him would question his veracity.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The letter is as follows:

CUATRO CIENEGAS,
Coahuila, Mexico, February 2, 1909.

Congressman HAYES,
Fifth California District, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It was with a great deal of interest that I read in a recent issue of the San Francisco Chronicle an interview with you on the subject of Japanese immigration. It is a pleasure to me and to other Americans in this country to know that there is one Congressman who seems to have a clear idea of the situation, especially with regard to the immigration of Japanese by way of Mexico. I am in a position to give you a few facts which will, I feel, be of interest to you and those who take the same position as you.

During the last half of 1906, all of 1907, and up till September 1, 1908, I was in the enjoyment of unusual facilities for observing the steady movement of Japanese toward the Rio Grande River from the interior of Mexico by one of three lines of travel leading in that direction. These are by way of El Paso, by Eagle Pass, and by Laredo, the routes, respectively, of the Mexican Central, the Internacional Mexicano, and the Mexican National railroads. What I have to say has to do with the Internacional route by way of Ciudad Porfirio Diaz and Eagle Pass.

During the greater portion of the period to which I refer I was so employed as to be in a position where it was impossible for aliens of any kind going north to escape my observation. In the case of the Japanese, a great throng, numbering into the thousands, at one time and another passed north along the railroad right of way on foot. At a point about 60 miles south of the Rio Grande is another river, the Sabinas, over which there is but one bridge, and across which structure foot travelers must pass, as the stream is not fordable. During the daytime I was stationed in an office building about 100 feet from the southern entrance to the bridge, and in consequence it was absolutely impossible for anyone to cross without being seen by me. At night we had two watchmen under instructions to permit no one to pass. Beginning with October of 1906, groups of Japanese began passing over this bridge, sometimes to the number of 100 or 200 a day. They were almost without exception clad in portions of soldier uniforms. They seemed to have abundance of money, both Mexican and Japanese, and there was always one man who acted the part of an officer and gave orders to the others, which were implicitly obeyed. Why men so well supplied with money should choose to walk instead of taking the train was a mystery, although at the same time that these were walking the one train daily to the north usually carried a good complement of their fellow-countrymen. Of course those on the train on landing at Ciudad Porfirio Diaz found themselves at once confronted with the United States immigration inspectors, while those on foot could leave the railroad track just before entering town and make their way to some appointed spot for crossing the Rio Grande undetected.

For many months this stream of Japanese northward bound continued, and finally, from motives of patriotism and thinking that the facts with regard thereto might be of use to the immigration officials of the border, I communicated with the person in charge, located at San Antonio, and after stating the facts, offered to furnish information with regard to this remarkable hegira. My offer met with such a cold reception that I did not pursue it further.

There were several thousand of these men, practically all ex-soldiers, who were brought to this country ostensibly to work in the coal mines of Coahuila. At one time some 2,000 were landed at a group of mines close together, and within two weeks not one was left. All had gone north toward the river. In one case guards were put around the mine property, but the Japanese left in the night, although they were shot at by these guards.

In the employ of the company for which I was acting as paymaster was a Mexican foreman, and native labor being scarce, he finally persuaded a number of Japanese to take temporary employment under him. This Mexican was friendly to me, as I had done him some favors, and one day he asked me if the Americans thought the Japanese were friendly to them; I told him a good many Americans thought so, but that I was from California and knew better. He then told me that I was quite right. He said that the Japanese thought the Mexicans did not like the Americans (which is largely true) and that in consequence they were not afraid to talk to them.

The Japs, he said, boasted among the Mexicans that they were all soldiers; that they had their expenses paid to come to this country, and that they were all making their way over into the United States as fast as they could. When enough of them had reached the United States, then there was going to be a war, and the Americans would all be killed off. I told the Mexican foreman to find out all he could from others, and he reported to me that they all talked alike; that they hated the Americans and were going to kill them just as they did the Russians.

In Ciudad Porfirio Diaz I often saw one who was manifestly a high officer, wearing, as he did, an officer's undress uniform. A reputable business man told me that he was an army officer, and that he was getting maps and pictures of the frontier. He told me that the Japanese had a room full of blueprints and photographs. There was also a very bright Japanese, speaking English fluently, and said to be a Prihee, who purchased cameras and photographic material by wholesale, as I accidentally learned.

The immigration authorities on the bridge at Eagle Pass do their work thoroughly and intelligently, but I am quite sure that not one-tenth part of the Japanese whom I have seen during the past two years headed for the Rio Grande ever tried to cross the bridge. Both above and below Eagle Pass is a vast territory almost unsettled, on either side, and the river can easily be crossed with boats, while I am told that there are many places where it can be forded at low water.

There is a little town about 5 miles south of Diaz, where there are a number of Japanese and Chinese employed at a coal mine. I became pretty well acquainted here, and finally had my attention attracted by some suspicious movements. The Chinaman who was the "boss" at the village was a pretty good friend of mine, and one day after I had seen and heard some things that were suspicious I taxed him in private with knowing something about smuggling Chinese and Japanese across the river. He acknowledged that I was right, and when I asked him how much it cost, he said the rate was $400 Mexican. I asked him how they got across and he said by a boat; but he would not tell me where the crossing was made. I reported to the immigration inspectors on the bridge at Eagle Pass that there was "something doing" in the way of smuggling at the rate of $400 a head, but as the Chinaman whom I bluffed out of the information had done several friendly services for me I did not feel warranted in giving him away.

The bulk of the immigration that I have noted occurred during the last three months of 1906 and all of 1907. There had been some during 1908, down to the time I was transferred from the main line of the railroad to this place, but since September 1 I have no knowledge.

It would be of interest to know just how many Japanese immigrants were reported crossing the Diaz-Eagle Pass bridge during 1907–8. That thousands got across the river in some way is well known to many Americans in Mexico, who had an opportunity to see something of it for themselves. And it is not at all unlikely that the experience of this particular line of travel was repeated both by the Laredo and the El Paso routes.

If I can be of any service in furnishing further information in this direction, I shall be glad to do so.

If you will ask Congressman Knowland, of the Third District (whose name, I am proud to say, was first mentioned as a candidate for Congress in my newspaper), he will, I am sure, testify to my reliability.

I must ask as a favor, however, that my name be not publicly mentioned in this connection, nor that of the company with which I am connected.

Wishing you the utmost success in the fight you are waging on behalf not only of California, but the entire country, a fight which I am assured time will show you to have been on the right side, I am,

Yours, truly,

———— ————,

Apartado 11, Cuatro Cienegas, Coahuila, Mexico.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I am somewhat astonished by the words of the gentleman from Iowa, and in behalf of the people of California I want to say that he is entirely in error as to the sentiment of the people of that State. More than twenty years ago a vote was taken by direction of the state government on the question as to whether the State was in favor of the exclusion of Chinese, and over 200,000 votes were recorded by the voters of that State in favor of exclusion and only between 600 and 700 against exclusion, and I have no doubt if the vote were taken to-day the measure would carry by nearly as large a majority.

More than that, Mr. Chairman, if the people of the State of California could settle this matter, they would not only exclude the Chinaman from the soil of this country, but they would exclude the Japanese and every other Asiatic. [Applause.] The people of California understand this question better than the gentleman from Iowa, and nobody who has not come in contact with it does understand it; and they know that unless these laws are enforced in their letter and spirit that we are creating from year to year a race problem that will be more difficult of solution and that will bring greater disaster to the people of the Pacific coast and to that beautiful section than the race question has brought and possibly may in the future bring to the good people in the South. [Applause.] For that reason I know that I speak for 95 per cent of the people of all classes of the State of California when I say we are praying, we are asking from year to year—we have not come yet to demanding, we have no right to demand, though we would if we could—that the Congress of the United States protect us from that great menace, oriental immigration.

The gentleman is mistaken when he says that if 500,000 Chinese were imported they would not take a day's labor away from a white man or an American citizen. I say, Mr. Chairman, that at this moment there are 22,000 idle white men in the city of San Francisco alone, and every charitable institution there is maintaining, and has been for months, a system of supplying the necessities of these people who are out of work, and yet in my district there are probably 10,000 Japanese, I do not know how many Chinamen, nearly all of whom are employed. Now, Mr. Chairman, I say to you that the people of California, except the few who profit by their labor, which is generally given cheaper than white labor, are in favor of what they conceive to be the patriotic thing to do, and that is to preserve the land of the Pacific coast for the Caucasian race [applause], for those who are either citizens of the United States or may become such. Not a single Chinaman or Japanese can become a citizen of the United States, and yet they are going into the counties of California and buying or renting the land, and in some places they now own great tracts of land in that fair State. I say to you that I believe it is an immediate, pressing necessity that something should be done to stop the influx of Orientals who have been coming to the Pacific coast and who, unless prevented, will absorb not only the entire labor there, but will buy up the land and come to possess and rule and control that fair country as they do or will soon do in Hawaii.

Mr. HEPBURN. I simply wanted to ask the gentleman, Mr. Chairman, whether these thousands that were out of employment were now or would be engaged in domestic labor?

Mr. HAYES. Many of them, undoubtedly, as many of them are waiters and cooks, because that is where the pressure comes largest, from the Japanese especially, and not only that, but there are many girls and women who need the work that is given to these orientals.

Mr. Chairman, I only desire to say that what is true of San Francisco is true in a less degree of all sections of the State of California. The labor market is greatly overcrowded there, and unless there can be some stop to the influx of the Oriental the time is not far distant when the common laborer of California and, doubtless, in time, the skilled labor, also, will be wholly monopolized by Orientals, because no white man and no white woman can compete with them.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is not entirely a labor question in the State of California. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] is entirely mistaken. These agitations do not come wholly from labor agitators and disturbers of industrial peace, as he states.

They come also from men who are employers of labor, and from all classes of society. Mr. Chairman, I claim not to belong to the class of labor agitators. I am myself a large employer of labor, and I would as soon as cut off my right hand as to do what the gentleman says, namely, to put in my house as domestics Chinamen or other Orientals to take the place of the white girls that are now employed there.

And why? Because I see that unless the American people set their faces hard against this the contest that is going on on the Pacific coast will result, as it has always resulted, when there comes a contest between the horde from Asia and the Caucasians; and what arms have done in the past peaceful and commercial conquest will do on the Pacific coast in the near future. And, for one, I hope never to live to see the time when that coast will be in the hands of the Orientals as the islands of Hawaii are to-day.

Gentlemen also think that all this is prompted by race prejudice; that it has no foundation in fact. I thank God there is some race prejudice against the Orientals on the Pacific coast, because without prejudice amalgamation would come, and God forbid that anything of that kind should take place on the Pacific coast. [Applause on the Democratic side.] It is true that as yet this race prejudice has not come to the point of such animosity as to lead to bloodshed and mob violence, though it may come to this if the immigration continues, because men that are hungry, and whose wives and children are hungry will not forever, and can not be expected, forever to restrain themselves.

They have been restrained by the promise, the expectation, and hope that the Government of the United States would finally protect them from this peril. Once this hope is dissipated, once it comes to be a settled conviction in the minds of the people of the Pacific coast that the Government of the United States is indifferent to their interests and to their destiny, they may be forced to do what the people of Humboldt County did some twenty years ago—organize themselves, take possession by force of the property and persons of the Orientals within their confines, hire a ship, send them back to China, and warn them never to set their foot on the soil of that county again.

I do not advocate anything of this kind. I should feel very much chagrined to see anything of this kind come; but I do hope that the people of the United States, as represented in this House, will see to it that before it is too late the people of the Pacific coast and that fair section are protected by ample exclusion laws, which shall exclude not only the Chinese, but the Japanese, Hindoos, Lascars, Koreans, and every other Asiatic, and that those laws shall be enforced in letter and spirit.

O